

JUN 5 1947

June 7, 1947

# THE *Nation*

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## Five-Star Foreign Policy

BY THOMAS REYNOLDS

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## Bevin Wins Again

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

✱

The D.P.'s—How Much Longer? - - *Marie Syrkin*

"Kingsblood Royal" - - - - - *Margaret Marshall*

Curtain Raiser for '48 - - - - *Richard L. Neuberger*

Food and Prices in France - - - - - *Léon Blum*

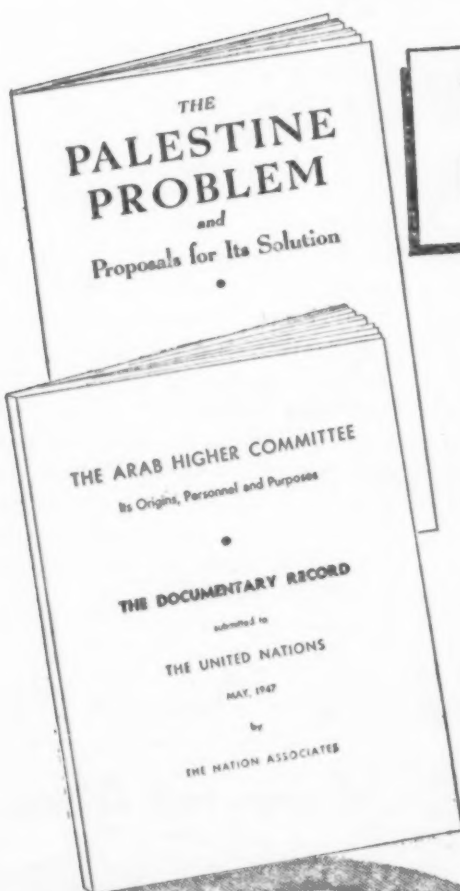
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# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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## *The Shape of Things*

THE REPLACEMENT OF ONE MEMBER OF THE "moderately conservative" Smallholders Party by another as Premier of Hungary has been widely described in the American press as a "Communist coup." This is about as accurate as was the general acceptance of the Smallholders' success in the 1945 elections as a "victory for Hungarian democracy." Both comments derive, no doubt, from our easy habit of applying American political terminology to happenings in a country where, after twenty-five years of semi-fascist dictatorship, even the elementary prerequisites of a democratic election are lacking. Americans are further misled by the idea that the social attitudes and political ambitions of Hungary's dispossessed ruling class have changed overnight; whereas events have shown, as history might have led us to expect, that persons who have lost both power and property are not inclined to relinquish them for good without a struggle. One could gather from comments here that our government and press believe Hungary, occupied since its defeat by the Red army, has suddenly become a Russian satellite as the result of a change of persons, though not of parties, in the coalition Cabinet. Every country under foreign military occupation, whether an ex-enemy or an ally, is a "satellite"—as the situation of Greece convincingly proves. For the State Department to protest the forced departure of Mr. Nagy and the accession of Mr. Dinnyes is not unexpected; but from the standpoint of the Truman Doctrine it is unfortunate that threats of a "stiff note" and "strong political measures" were accompanied by an admission that "the United States will not be able to accomplish much." This advance concession of impotence is unlikely to enhance American prestige; while the threats may encourage romantically minded Hungarian reactionaries, who yearn for times past, to believe that America will help them realize their dreams. They apparently forget that the "stiff notes" will be intended primarily to appease the mounting Russophobia in this country and to express fraternal sympathy with the Hungarian banks which are about to be socialized.

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THE TAX REDUCTION BILL IS NOW ON THE President's desk. Although, in its passage through Congress, the beautiful and inequitable symmetry of Mr. Knutson's original 20 per cent across-the-board cut has

been considerably modified, the measure remains a thoroughly bad one from every point of view except that of the moneyed supporters of the G. O. P. To these, it is the first fruit of last November's victory and they are eager to grasp it. But the President's signature is not yet assured for both he and the Secretary of the Treasury have on numerous occasions voiced their opposition to tax reductions at this time, urging the importance of using any surplus for debt reduction. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that a veto would probably be sustained, Mr. Truman's problem in regard to this bill is not simple. There are two major questions which he must consider: (1) Does the general economic situation call for a reduction in the current revenue surplus? (2) If so, are the tax cuts proposed by Congress well designed to insure continued prosperity? On the assumption that we are actually heading into a sharp recession, there is much to be said for reducing the current excess of government receipts over government payments. On a cash basis, taking into account payments into social-security reserves and similar items, a government surplus is now accruing at the rate of seven to eight billion dollars a year—an amount sufficient to exert a very considerable deflationary influence. Thus the President might reasonably decide that some reduction in taxes was now warranted.

★

BUT EVEN IF THIS IS HIS DECISION, HE IS almost bound to reject the cuts selected by Congress. What we need, as the Committee for Economic Stability pointed out in its recent report, is a tax program which leaves more money in the pockets of the low-income groups, whose purchasing power has been sharply pinched by rising prices. The present bill, however, definitely favors the higher brackets. In a full year, the \$2,500 a year married man with two children will secure relief equivalent to 1.6 per cent of his net income before exemptions, while the \$100,000 a year man in the same family circumstances gets 12.63 per cent of his net income. Moreover, Congress has deliberately ignored the regressive excise taxes, so swollen during the war, which bear much more heavily on low incomes than on high ones. The levies on such articles and services as cigarettes, light bulbs, cosmetics, gasoline, electric energy, telephone calls, and transport ought to be drastically re-



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duced before relief is afforded to high-bracket incomes. We would suggest to the President, therefore, that he refuse his signature on the tax bill and ask Congress for a new measure which would spread the benefits of tax reduction more equitably.

★

IN EXCLUDING TWO UNITED NATIONS experts from the staff of the Palestine Inquiry Committee because one was an Arab and one a Jew, Secretary General Lie made a bad political blunder and violated an important principle. Mr. Lie explained his decision by two unconvincing statements. He said, according to the *New York Times*, that he wanted to prevent any possibility of "unfair criticism regarding the impartiality of the investigation." If dropping a Jew and an Arab is the method by which criticism is to be averted, presumably because both may be suspected of bias, how can Mr. Lie justify the appointment of four or five British subjects to the secretariat group attached to the Inquiry Committee? He also said that he wanted to reduce the number of political experts, since the committee could doubtless form its own opinions as it went along. The first explanation probably reflects Mr. Lie's recent unhappy experience over the staff of the Greek Border Commission, certain members of which were charged with bias and improper acts. The men were cleared after an inquiry by Mr. Lie's assistant, William H. Stoneman; but the episode may have inclined the Secretary General to err on the side of caution this time. He may also have been urged to drop the two experts by the British and Americans, who are said to prefer a staff unencumbered with either much knowledge or many opinions. The men in question, William Epstein, a Canadian, and Salek Mahmoud, an Egyptian, are generally recognized as the members of the secretariat who did the main job of preparing the material on the Palestine case. The idea of shoving the committee off on its tour of inquiry without staff experts to turn to for basic information is either stupid or it conceals a political interest that is highly questionable.

★

BUT QUITE ASIDE FROM ITS PROBABLE EFFECT on the quality of the job to be done, Mr. Lie's decision contravenes the theory on which service in the United Nations is based. Members of the secretariat, from Mr. Lie down, are responsible to the organization; they are U. N. employees first, and whether they are also Norwegians or Egyptians or Canadians, Protestants or Moslems or Jews is supposedly of no concern to anyone. To set up a new standard, one based on nationality or religion or a person's political views, goes beyond Mr. Lie's proper authority. He has let it be known that if the committee requests any individual expert, it can have him. This offers a possible way to restore Mr. Epstein



and Mr. Mahmoud to the staff. But it is not enough. Mr. Lie should hasten to rescind his mistaken decision. In the name of impartiality he has created a precedent of discrimination which should be broken immediately, before it has a chance to harden.

★

THE LEBANESE ELECTIONS ON MAY 25 WERE deceptive. The overwhelming majority won by the government bloc seemed to indicate popular support of a regime elected in 1943 under the extraordinary stress of war, conflict over the French mandate, and the British occupation. But the four-year record of Bechara el-Khoory's government is one of such incoherence and corruption and such abject subservience to Britain's alignment of Lebanon with the Arab League that the regime has become increasingly unpopular, particularly in the Christian core of the country, Mount Lebanon. The defeat of the opposition group of parties, headed by former President Emil Eddé, was accomplished by the most unabashed electoral frauds; in some districts the number of votes cast was more than ten times the number of inhabitants. Many impartial observers believe that Eddé's national bloc would have won if the vote had been fair, but neither a new election nor a recount is politically conceivable. As a result of the government victory, the Lebanon will be integrated more solidly than ever into the Arab League and can be counted on to oppose strongly the Jewish cause in Palestine.

★

"THE ONE TRULY GREAT DEMOCRAT I HAVE ever known," Carey McWilliams wrote of Evans Carlson in these pages not two months ago, "he is a man in whose presence, in these ragged times, one can still feel some confidence that greatness in human nature is not a myth." Now Carlson is dead at 51 of an overworked heart and an exhausted body. His unbroken spirit had been battered by the sledge-blows of the military system, the vilifications of his inferiors, the indifference of his complacent countrymen. "I've fallen apart like the one-horse shay," he told his friends last year, a terrible facing-up to reality for this tall Vermonter who had fought for his country and for mankind on three continents during four decades, who had once marched 2,000 miles with the Eighth Route Army. Evans Carlson was, if anything, too good a fighter. Like Stilwell on another front, he infected his troops with an enthusiasm and a devotion that could only appear unseemly to less gifted and less democratic officers. He worked so untiringly, after the formal end of the war, not to lose the war—he was one of the people who greatly helped in the early days of A. V. C.—that he was branded as a red or at least a fellow-traveler by any who could profit by such derogation. It simply happens not to be true and the only truth about Evans Carlson is that he was an independent man.

SOME DAY A HALT MAY BE CALLED BY THE American people to the psychopathic fear of communism which afflicts a large section of the present Congress. Meanwhile, the hysteria spreads, endangers liberal movements, and gives comfort to dozens of hate-mongers. Last week Representative MacDowell, chairman of the subcommittee on fascism of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs, told Washington reporters that his group had given ten minutes to the subject of fascist trends in America and had come to the conclusion that the whole thing was a boggy worked up by the Communists. As for the booklet, "Fascism in Action," prepared by the Library of Congress, he did not know when it would see daylight. *The Nation* reported more than a month ago that Representative Patman's bill to get it into print had been "interred in a committee pigeonhole" since February 5. Apparently, it is still there. Later last week the House Veterans' Affairs Committee reported out a bill that denied G. I. educational benefits to veterans who are Communists or belong to Communist organizations. During the war, however, we never heard any objection to a Communist serving in the armed forces or even getting killed. The bill, we trust, will not pass the House. But meanwhile it stands as a dangerous symptom of political insanity. In contrast to all this, a sane note was struck, fittingly enough, by the nation's oldest university. In issuing a charter to a chapter of American Youth for Democracy, Harvard admitted that organization's probable Communist coloration but based its decision on "a faith in the American form of government to prove its values in the free market of ideas." Could Harvard possibly put on a summer course for Washington legislators?

★

IT WILL COME AS A SHOCK TO A DEVOTED core of our readers to hear that Jack Barrett, the constructor of our crossword puzzle, was drowned last week when his canoe overturned in rough water on the lake at Ste. Agathe des Monts in Quebec. Barrett was an acknowledged genius in his field. He began composing crossword puzzles in New York in 1924 for the *Evening Journal*. Going to England in 1926, he was soon signed on to do the weekly competition puzzle for the *London News of the World*. When the staid *Times* decided upon a daily crossword, it was Jack Barrett who was called in to work out the type of puzzle that has since become world famous. In February, 1943, he came to *The Nation* and since then has been the delight, the bewilderment, and the dismay of our more intellectual and nimble-witted readers. There have been few jugglers of words and spaces who have so well projected a living personality into their product. We have a handfull of Barrett's last puzzles yet to be printed. A worthy successor will be hard to find.

## Pass the Stratton Bill

WHAT John Gunther calls the "mixedupness" of America is magnificently and maddeningly demonstrated in our behavior toward those luckless figures of the world, the D. P.'s. We begrudge them relief, we will not repatriate them against their will, and we do not allow them to immigrate. Of the eight million "displaced persons" who wandered through Europe and Asia at the close of the war—liberated slave laborers, concentration-camp inmates, and other victims of the Third Reich—between six and seven million found their way back to what were once their homes. At most, a million and a half remained, idle and restive, huddled in bleak barracks from Belgium to China, liberated but not free.

For two years we have cared for a large share of these people through UNRRA and Military Government. There is good reason to believe that both UNRRA and army officials brought heavy pressure on their displaced wards to go back to their own countries. In some cases, according to the Refugee Defense Committee, D. P.'s who refused repatriation were constantly shifted about and subjected to harrying restrictions. But most D. P.'s remained. Their composition indicates why.

Of the 800,000 who decline to go home, the majority are Poles, Yugoslavs, and refugees from the Baltic states, fearful for various political reasons of returning to Soviet-dominated territory. Some 82,000 are Ukrainians, who are in this same category. Roughly 170,000, not more than a fifth of the total number, are Jews, many of whom fear the anti-Semitism rampant in Poland and most of whom want to go to Palestine. Others are Greeks, who with good reason desire to keep a safe distance from the little Gestapo of Napoleon Zervas; and there is a sprinkling of Czechs.

Faced with a problem more delicate than difficult, Congress so far has fallen back on its characteristic formula: when in doubt, stop spending. UNRRA was killed and Military Government appropriations were slashed. But the D. P.'s remain, and so does the problem. The next step, therefore, is to temporize—at a somewhat lower cost. To this end, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has just approved American participation in the International Refugee Organization, which will take over administration of the D. P.'s where UNRRA left off.

We are glad, of course, that the United States will take part in the I. R. O. But what does this achieve beyond immediate relief? The Russians, who will have nothing to do with the organization, still want forced repatriation or forced assimilation of the D. P.'s into the German and Austrian populations. To have their way, they need only wait until we once more tire of relief—unless in the meantime we take the only other course open, which is

resettlement. Yet the Senate would not have voted in favor of I. R. O. had not Senator Vandenberg first given assurance of "completely air-tight and copper-riveted" provisions that participation would imply no change in our immigration laws.

It is at this point that perhaps the most striking instance of our national "mixedupness" occurs. A bill for dealing with the problem in the only simple, intelligent, and morally defensible way has been introduced in Congress, not by a broad-minded liberal, but by Representative William G. Stratton of Illinois, a Republican isolationist of the McCormick school and a one-time member of America First. The Stratton bill has its weaknesses. It provides only for refugees now in D. P. camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy, ignoring those in North Africa, Shanghai, and elsewhere; and it is directed to the resettlement of those driven into exile by "events subsequent to the outbreak of World War II," which leaves anti-Franco refugees still out in the cold. But by and large, it is a remarkably good measure, the crux of which is that 400,000 D. P.'s would be admitted to the United States over a four-year period.

Naturally, introduction of the bill was a signal for shrieking by the self-appointed guardians of the gate. But the reaction on Capitol Hill has been far less feverish than it would have been had the proposal come from a more liberal Congressman than Stratton.

The arguments in its favor are overwhelming: We cannot indefinitely oppose the Russians on forced repatriation, and we cannot indefinitely condemn the British on Palestine, unless we are prepared to admit some of these people. The number proposed is insignificant. Under our drastic immigration laws—which incidentally would be left intact by the bill—1,076,733 persons were entitled to admission in the years from 1940 to 1946. Primarily because of the war, only 161,971 were actually admitted, with 914,762 quota numbers left unused. The Stratton bill would, in effect, merely ignore for this emergency the distribution of these quota numbers by country, and it would make use of something less than half of them in a period of four years. The immigrants would of course be subjected to the usual screening process. Expenses, temporary shelter, and guaranties against their becoming public charges would be provided by individuals and organizations. And the government would save money now spent on camps in Europe.

There is not a single argument that can decently be brought to bear against the bill—and the chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee has already discovered, to his annoyance, "a very definite propaganda movement from all over the country" in its favor. We hope he is right, and that the movement gets stronger, louder, and more insistent. It would be a national crime if the survivors of slavery were allowed now to perish of slow liberation.

## Chiang Falls Back

DISPATCHES from China indicate that the stagnant political situation that has prevailed since General Marshall's return to the United States has ended with a sudden weakening of the Kuomintang's position. This is due to a long series of unfavorable developments—political, military, and economic. If the recent reorganization of the Cabinet to include the Young China and Social Democratic parties was designed to broaden the government's base of support, it has failed to gain its objective. Chinese newspapers speak scornfully of the tossing of "dog-bone" ministries with little power or influence to the hungry politicians of these insignificant minor parties. The most dramatic evidence of the growing opposition to the Kuomintang regime is furnished by the great student "peace" demonstrations in Nanking, Shanghai, and Peiping. Chinese students have always been the bellwethers of political change. The fact that they could organize such demonstrations in the face of the strict "thought control" in the universities reveals the depth and scope of anti-government feeling.

This feeling has undoubtedly been intensified by the pessimism found even in government circles over the progress of the anti-Communist military campaign. In

the early part of the year, Kuomintang spokesmen declared that the Communists could be crushed in three months. The ease with which Yen-an was taken seemed to justify this claim. But except for Yen-an the government has little to show for its three-month "annihilation drive" against the Red Army. Important gains have been made in northern Kiangsu and southern Shantung, but these have been offset by Communist gains in Shansi and northern Honan. And the Kuomintang's promising Shantung campaign, designed to restore north-south railway traffic, ended disastrously when the crack 74th Division was cut to pieces by the government's own planes and surrendered to the enemy with its arms and equipment. Meanwhile, the Communists have scored surprising gains in a broad offensive in Manchuria, threatening such vital railroad centers as Changchun, Szepingkai, and Chinwangtao. There are indications that the heavy fighting in Shantung and Manchuria has seriously depleted the government's stocks of American-made munitions and supplies, while the Communists have added to their meager stocks through the capture of Kuomintang equipment. American observers who came in contact with the Communist troops in the Chinwangtao area are reported to have been deeply impressed by their appearance and morale.

The Kuomintang's authority is further threatened by



YOU ONLY LOSE ONCE



the deepening financial crisis in the government-controlled areas. For a time it seemed as if the drastic revaluation of the Chinese dollar and measures to control foreign exchange might head off the disastrous inflation. But in recent weeks Chinese prices have again soared. On the black market, the American dollar is being quoted at nearly double its official value. China's supply of foreign exchange—abnormally high after the war—is reported to be practically exhausted, and there is little prospect of replenishing it through exports as long as Chinese currency is officially overvalued. Because of the inflation and the throttling of export trade, business activity is virtually at a standstill throughout the government-controlled regions. Famine conditions have developed in Hunan and Kwangsi since the diversion of UNRRA supplies to military use.

Although the worsening in the Kuomintang's position has provoked the usual crop of peace rumors, the attitude of the government delegates at the recent meeting of the People's Political Council makes it clear that there will

be no early peace bid. Even if there were, the Communists would be unlikely to accept it under present conditions. Behind the government's firmness is undoubtedly the conviction of the C. C. and other right-wing groups that the United States will intervene rather than allow the Chiang Kai-shek regime to collapse. Although Secretary Marshall has given no grounds for such a belief, the extent of American assistance in the past and the continuation of American naval and technical aid have encouraged the right-wing groups in this hope. They also believe that the logic of the Truman Doctrine operates in their behalf. To get over this stumbling-block, the middle parties have asked the United States to issue another clear-cut statement of neutrality such as President Truman made in December, 1945. Such an announcement at this time, if lived up to, would discredit the intransigent right-wing and thereby lay the basis for the only kind of coalition that could win popular support in China—a combination of the Communists and Democratic League with the center and left Kuomintang.

## Five-Star Foreign Policy

BY THOMAS F. REYNOLDS

*Washington, June 1*

THE demise of the Department of State as the originator of the foreign policy of the United States might well be dated from May 26 of this year. That was the day on which President Truman renewed his demand on Congress for power to sell arms to the Latin American republics—to nineteen at the moment and later to twenty, when a deal can be worked out with dictator Juan Perón of Argentina. The Presidential message demonstrated that foreign policy is now and in the future will be the product not of the State Department alone but of a combination of the State, War, and Navy departments, a combination in which State is not necessarily the dominant factor.

Dean Acheson once called down the Jovian wrath of General Douglas MacArthur by reminding our proconsul in Japan that it is the role of the State Department to make policy and the role of the generals in the field to execute it. MacArthur, even at that early date, probably had some reason to doubt the complete validity of this dictum. In the present state of Washington departmental organization Acheson's thesis probably has even less validity. The State-War-Navy combination is the maker

of policy, and the ingredients of political decisions, as often as not, more accurately reflect the thinking of the generals in the field and the brass on the Joint Chiefs of Staff than of the civilians in the State Department.

It is a matter of common knowledge in Washington that Spruille Braden, the Assistant Secretary of State for American Republics Affairs, opposed the whole concept of the inter-American arms-cooperation bill. By virtue of his position and responsibility Braden's opposition should have been controlling. A definition of his responsibility, for instance, was offered before a House appropriations subcommittee this spring by Ellis O. Briggs, director of the Office of American Republics Affairs. Briggs set forth that Braden is charged with "the formulation and conduct of our relations with the twenty other American republics" and "has complete charge of our relations with those countries." Were that true, President Truman's message on arms would never have gone to Congress on May 26. If the State Department official in charge actually could exercise the powers assigned to him, he could and would have recommended adversely to Secretary Marshall; Marshall would have transmitted the adverse report to the White House; the arms bill would have had a still birth.

But in the new Washington dispensation that did not happen. While Braden was conducting a valiant offensive against the War and Navy departments on the basic

THOMAS F. REYNOLDS is Washington correspondent of the Chicago Sun.

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principle, he found himself gradually surrounded both by the generals and admirals and by former officers in his own department. Major General Donald H. Connolly, foreign liquidation commissioner in the State Department, was working busily with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in carrying out an "interim program" in South America while the larger program was still under dispute. Under that interim program \$37,149,309 worth of surplus arms were peddled to the Latin republics at the bargain price of \$5,063,837. "Within the limits of a small program on the list agreed to by the Joint Chiefs of Staff we have been selling limited quantities of ground equipment, navy, and air," Connolly told Congress.

The interim program was a small-scale defeat for Braden. The large-scale defeat came when President Truman sent up the arms bill and told Congress that "the army and navy, acting in conjunction with the Department of State, would be permitted to continue in the future a general program of collaboration with the armed forces of our sister republics with a view to facilitating the adoption of similar technical standards." That collaboration, if authorized by Congress, may go no farther than technical standardization, as Mr. Truman suggests. But should that be the case, Braden would be surprised and the army officers would be disappointed.

The influence of the military, of course, did not begin with the arrival at the State Department of Secretary Marshall. James F. Byrnes during his eighteen months at the foreign-policy helm was steadily nudged and sometimes buffeted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and Admiral Leahy, the Presidential Chief of Staff. Cordell Hull encountered less heavy pressure, but still was influenced by the then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and the consecutive Secretaries of Navy, Frank Knox and James V. Forrestal. But with the military in mufti extending their activities inside the department itself, the impact of the thinking and theorizing of the armed services is likely to be considerably greater under Marshall. Marshall is, above all, a military man, and the quality of his political statesmanship cannot escape some degree of khaki coloration. The clue to his approach in the department is perhaps best found in his final and historic report to the President as Chief of Staff—a soldier's valedictory after the day of victory, in which he incorporated some of his philosophy on a practical foreign policy.

"Our diplomacy must be wise, and it must be strong," he wrote in this report on September 1, 1945. "Nature tends to abhor weakness. The principle of the survival of the fit is generally recognized. If our diplomacy is not backed by a sound security policy, it is, in my opinion, forecast to failure. . . . The world does not seriously regard the desires of the weak." The true significance of this statement may perhaps lie in its emphasis on the importance of leading from strength. With that emphasis,

the components of strength—that is, the army and navy—will become important if not deciding factors in achieving all paramount decisions.

Under that approach the actual arena of decision tends away from the State Department and toward the consultative machinery set up among the State, War, and Navy departments. It tends toward that strange, vowel-less alphabetical hybrid identified as SWNCC—the State, War, and Navy Coordinating Committee. Marshall, Secretary of War Patterson, and Secretary of Navy Forrestal, a Cabinet triumvirate, will thus shape the course on which this country must seek enduring peace.

That may seem a strange composition for what amounts to a "Department of Peace." But SWNCC long has been making policy for the occupied areas. The War and Navy departments now have stepped over into the Western Hemisphere in the arms decision. It is only one step farther to assume command of over-all policy. Once that step has been taken, the civilian political planning of the Department of State becomes not the base on which the President acts but merely one-third of the grist from which the alphabetical coordinating agencies grind out a base for action.

This trend toward reliance on the generals and admirals may have a more dynamic impact on this country's final role and direction in the world than any reorganizations or perfections Marshall may accomplish inside the State Department itself. It also sheds light on the confidence with which the new Secretary is proceeding to establish a top State Department command scantily equipped with experience in the tortuous paths of diplomacy and foreign politics. If this country's course were to be shaped, as in the past, according to the findings of the technicians and experts inside the department, Marshall might have graver concern about organizing a top executive group devoid of men who have distinguished themselves in international politics. But when his department is considered one of three shaping policy, the choice of his principal assistants takes on a somewhat different complexion.

The Secretary, it appears, has out of necessity or choice discounted specialized experience in favor of aggressiveness and vigor in his initial realignment of the department. In his official hierarchy of two under secretaries and six assistant secretaries, Braden alone has detailed experience in the political problems he is assigned to handle. And Braden is on his way out. Will Clayton, the economic under secretary, has acquired an effective conversancy while working at his job. Robert A. Lovett, who is succeeding Dean Acheson as the principal under secretary, has had a distinguished banking career with Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company and proved a notable war-time administrator as Assistant Secretary of War for Air. But his former Wall Street connections and his experience in cracking production bottlenecks

for the army are not necessarily preferred qualifications for a career in diplomacy at a time of great crisis. The department, moreover, will miss Acheson's painfully acquired skill in handling relations with Congress.

Of the six assistant secretaries Major General John H. Hilldring is an army officer transplanted into the department by Byrnes but is also heading for retirement. Garrison Norton, the new Assistant Secretary for Transport and Communications, will not complete the second year of his State Department career until next November. William Benton is under heavy Congressional fire for his fight in behalf of the "Voice of America" and has fallen out of favor with Marshall because he could not swing his program through Congress. John E. Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary for Administration, is a still-young graduate of West Point whose fire and zeal for his job are insulated from political problems by the nature of his administrative assignment. Willard L. Thorp is an able economist whose assignment likewise largely separates him from political matters except those in the bailiwick of Clayton, his chief.

It was notable at the Moscow conference that when Marshall went into secret sessions with the Foreign Minister, he passed over the Counselor of the department, Benjamin V. Cohen, and relied instead on a former general, Walter Bedell Smith. Cohen has no protracted background of experience in world politics. But as confidant and adviser of former Secretary Byrnes, his intimate State Department background did transcend that of Smith. Cohen's friends believe that he too is on his way back to private life.

Cohen's departure would leave a serious gap, but technicalities of the Foreign Service Act threaten equally serious problems on the geographical level. John Carter Vincent and H. Freeman Matthews, the top political experts for the Far East and for Europe, have completed their span of service in the department and must, under mandate of the act, go abroad some time this year.

While beset with problems of replacement Marshall has also been attempting to reorganize constructively inside the department. Borrowing his technique from the army's general-staff system, he has created for the first time a high-level planning board in an effort to capture an over-all perspective for American foreign policy. The concept of the new Policy-Planning Staff is not unlike that of the army General Staff, under which top officers are detached from other duties and assigned to make comprehensive plans for all possible contingencies. Like the General Staff, it will have only the power of recommendation, without operational authority or responsibility. To head this committee Marshall selected the department's chief specialist on Russia, George F. Kennan, a career minister who has been lecturing at the National War College as deputy for foreign affairs.

It is worth noting, however, that as director of the

staff of the planning committee Marshall selected Carlton Savage, a career man of twenty years' service. Savage may be remembered as the principal author of the department's war-time apologia for pre-war events, the so-called white book "Peace and War." In the 853 pages of exposition and documents that formed that work Savage was able to find room for exactly 39 lines and only 4 unrevealing documents on the Spanish civil war in appraising events of the ten historic years of American policy antecedent to Pearl Harbor.

The Policy-Planning Staff is directed to work through and be responsible to Under Secretary Lovett. Marshall is well aware that the exigencies of negotiating German, Austrian, and Japanese peace treaties may necessitate prolonged absences from Washington over the next twelve months. Accordingly, it is impossible for him, even if time were otherwise available, to take personal control of such planning work. Thus the success of his general staff in a "Department of Peace" must, in final appraisal, rest largely on the ability of Lovett to adapt himself to the problems of modern power diplomacy and become a creative adjutant to the Secretary inside the department.

In justice to Marshall, however, the record of his operations as Secretary of State must be viewed against the hard fact that he found his department in close to an impossible situation. An agency which in 1939 counted 5,421 employees and operated on a \$17,000,000 budget has been transformed into one whose activities encompass the globe. After swallowing 6,000 war-agency workers in a single gulp in 1945 in post-war consolidations, the department now is asking Congress for \$178,000,000 for 24,561 employees. That is mushrooming on a gigantic scale, and it provides a very persuasive defense against the Congressional charge that Marshall is attempting to govern an unrelated jumble of bureaus.

In testifying before Representative Stefan's Appropriations subcommittee prior to his departure for Moscow last March, Secretary Marshall pointed out that the State Department is participating in the control and government of approximately 200,000,000 people in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. Since then the problems of Greece and Turkey have been superimposed on that mountain of troubles. The department also is working desperately on plans to take over from the army in the not too distant future the administrative responsibility for Germany and Austria.

Anyone familiar with the difficulties of the department in attempting to convert from a "policy agency" to an "operating agency" during the war years would predict without qualification that its new operational responsibilities can lead only to chaos. But Marshall believes he can make the department work. He usually adds, in talking to his friends, "I would like to have a few weeks of grace to get started."

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# Bevin Wins Again

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, May 31

**M**EETING under brilliant skies which made past and prospective fuel shortages seem remote, Margate politically was a conference held in mid-stream, where, traditionally, horses cannot be changed. The large attendance of foreign journalists and diplomatic observers, all expecting dramatic clashes between ministers and rebels or a significant reorientation of the party line, was disappointed. Unlike the Zulus who go forward to die because going backward means death, the delegates evinced a less heroic determination to die politically, even if death was unavoidable by standing still and marking time. But though the consciousness of difficult days ahead was everywhere present, the complacent temper of the delegates excluded serious expectations of electoral mortality.

A conference which defeated all rebel candidates for election to the executive committee, rejected a motion for cutting down the strength of the armed services in 1948, and gave Bevin an overwhelming demonstration of support cannot be called progressive, but neither can it be exactly described as reactionary. Left-wing speakers were generously applauded partly because they studiously disclaimed any intention of mutinously seizing the steering wheel but mainly because the conference, conscious of the massive solidarity behind its leadership, felt the party could afford the peppering influence of the essentially not disloyal "ginger group." Indeed, it might be said that for clearness of vision and independence of thought the conference substituted an astonishing degree of blind fidelity to a leadership which gave no convincing proof of knowing where it was going. It is admitted that the floor successfully outvoted the platform on motions condemning tied agricultural cottages and demanding equal pay for women state employees, but these are not major issues. It was obvious from the outset that whatever sympathy for the pacifists and against the Bevinites individual delegates might feel, this conference would not vote against the government on any question of confidence.

The most important day, Wednesday, was allotted to a discussion of economic policy, thus giving the rebels an opportunity to urge their central "we-can't-afford-imperialism" line. The keynote of social-democratic moderation was struck initially by Morrison, who was clearly anxious to allay the animosity caused by Shinwell's earlier declaration that only organized workers matter a tinker's curse. Morrison urged the conference to eschew a sectarian attitude, seek the cooperation of the middle class and employers, and recognize that nothing more was

attainable by squeezing the rich and that the improvement of the conditions of the workers was dependent on increased effort. Although Dalton added that Britain must not bank on further foreign credits, the conference nevertheless declined to press the government to economize on military man-power and concentrated instead on one patent British weakness, the undermanned essential industries.

The discussion disclosed a conflict between the political and industrial wings of the party which left the policy in a gloriously unclarified muddle. First, Dalton announced the acceptance by the executive of the Miners' motion urging differential wage advantages for mines and other tough industries. Whereupon Deakin of the Transport Workers, indignantly voicing the right-wing Trades Union Council view, opposed any state interference with the traditional union-negotiated wage structure, and when a resolution formally advocating a comprehensive policy of wages, hours, and distribution of national income came up, it was overwhelmingly rejected.

After an inconclusive debate on man-power, Bevin's triumph on Thursday was a foregone conclusion. The rebels halfheartedly repeated the economic arguments against grandiose foreign commitments, but they neither made nor appeared keenly desirous of making any significant impression. Tactfully avoiding verbal anti-Soviet harshness, Bevin exuberantly defended his "plain, blunt, British, independent" attitude toward all sorts of troublesome foreigners. The conference applauded his declarations that, like Churchill, he declined to liquidate Britain's position in the Middle East, that he would not accept the United Nations' decision on Palestine unless the decision was unanimous, that the British diplomatic service was the best in the world, and that he still had hopes of reaching agreements on Germany and Austria which would permit further demobilization.

To sum up, the dominant impression of the conference was an unabated trust in the leadership, combined with a prevailing sense of responsibility lest differences impair the government's ability to cope administratively with the crisis which recognizably threatens to shipwreck the Cabinet's excellent legislative achievements, which were universally admitted. The result of the conference gives little indication whether Labor wants more socialism or less or closer attachment to the United States or to Europe. The exhibition of solidarity was magnificent, but the comment might be made that it was the solidarity of migratory lemmings moving en masse toward the intractable sea.

# The D.P.'s—How Much Longer?

BY MARIE SYRKIN

THE Jewish D. P.'s in Germany are no longer the gaunt figures with tragic, hollow eyes we saw in the newsreels immediately after the war. The graveyard look that shocked us two years ago is gone. The men and women I met in various camps of the American zone have put on flesh, they are not visibly sick, and they are not penned behind barbed wire. They can walk freely out of the former S. S. barracks where they are housed and visit the nearby town.

Yet despite these blessings they are more bitter than in May, 1945. They talk constantly about the days when Eisenhower's troops liberated them and the G. I.'s showered the starvelings of Buchenwald and Dachau with sympathy, chocolate, and cigarettes. Then the American soldiers were friendly and the Germans were afraid if not ashamed; and then the survivors of the Nazi holocaust were sure that the world would be eager to make good the wrongs they had suffered. "We thought all doors would be opened to us," person after person said to me.

Now the D. P.'s know better. Their early naive hopefulness has given way to a mixture of despair, cynicism, and resolution. They feel abandoned and betrayed; they are sick of visitors and skeptical of committees; and they are determined to get out.

For Germany is a trap as well as a dead end. The savage irony of German soil becoming the haven for hundreds of thousands of Jews fleeing from anti-Semitic outbreaks in Eastern Europe is not lost on the D. P.'s. Of the 153,000 Jews in the American zone only 29,000 were liberated in Germany proper. The rest are "infiltrates," Jews who sought the shelter of the American zone, particularly after the massacre of Kielce. They came in the conviction that the sojourn would be brief. To use the Hebrew slogan blazoned in every camp, they were *b derech*, "on the way" to Palestine. None expected the temporary asylum provided by the American flag to become a virtual imprisonment on German soil.

It is a situation whose implications grow more dreadful the more one examines them. The American army, which generously kept the borders open, has grown weary of its role of host; General Clay has made that clear. The German population no longer bothers to con-

ceal its hostility, held in leash only by the presence of the occupation authorities. In a recent poll eight out of ten Germans admitted to anti-Semitism. During the four months I spent in Germany I repeatedly heard of acts which could be interpreted either as individual crimes or as anti-Jewish violence. In Regensburg a Jewish family of four was clubbed to death on the eve of Passover. The army reported, "Murder—motive, robbery." But the Jews of Regensburg were not so sure. As to lesser incidents, such as insults and brawls in street cars and trains, all agree that they indicate an increase in overt ill-will on the part of the Germans.

Along with the bitterness and despair in the D. P. camps one notes a paradoxical vitality. In many of the barracks huge figures of storm troopers are carved on the wall, but blue and white flags with the Star of David and placards bravely designating the unit as "Herzl House" or "Shalom Aleichem House" have been tacked over them as if in defiance of the warriors. There is a fierce will to live among the inmates. Weddings are frequent and the birth rate is high. Many of the marriages are between persons each of whom is the sole survivor of a broken family. Photographs of the groom's wife who was gassed, the bride's husband who was shot, the children who were seized in an "action" stand on the table of the new ménage. And the middle-aged, as well as the young, bear children.

Even the much-criticized black-market operations are an expression of this extraordinary energy. One must bear in mind that the living conditions of the D. P.'s are on a wretched subsistence level. People are herded together without regard for elementary privacy or decency. In the "old" camp of Landsberg I saw squalid rooms each corner of which was occupied by a couple, or a single man or woman. Pathetic attempts to secure privacy were made by stringing blankets and newspapers across the room. The basic food ration of 2,000 calories may be adequate in quantity but is not in quality; recently the army removed the additional 200-calory ration which the Jewish D. P.'s had received, declaring that there was no further reason for preferential treatment. The food allotted consists mainly of carbohydrates. The German ration, which has fewer calories, is actually more wholesome because it has a larger proportion of protective foods. People hunger for proteins, fats, and fresh vegetables.

Warm clothing for children was seriously lacking all winter. Naturally those who do not wish their children

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to be cold and undernourished barter whatever they can for milk, meat, or, if they are lucky, a pair of shoes. Most of the so-called black-market activity is simply trading for necessities. There are undoubtedly some slick operators among Jewish D. P.'s, but no more proportionately than in other groups, including American and British army officers.

Cigarettes are currency in Germany, and every American—G. I. or UNRRA official—knows how to get Chanel 5, Rosenthal china, or good service for the appropriate number of cigarettes. No odium seems to attach to the transaction. But the well-fed American M. P. who cheerfully displays the camera he got for two cartons of Lucky Strikes is outraged by the Jewish "black marketeer" whose stock consists of badly needed oranges, shoelaces, and soap.

Among the displaced Jews' most impressive achievements are their schools. In every camp I visited, whether an old one like Landsberg or a new one like Pocking, built for "infiltrates" eight months ago, I saw a building set aside for classrooms. In cold, dingy surroundings, with few books or other school supplies, an educational system ranging from kindergarten to high school has been established. Some of the instructors were professional teachers before the war in the great Jewish schools of Poland. Others are untrained boys and girls who managed to finish at the *Gymnasium* before they were driven into ghettos and concentration camps. The language of instruction is Hebrew, with English taught as a secondary language. These children are in a peculiar sense already citizens of Palestine. They know that they are "on the way" to "our land," where all griefs will be eased. "Our land" is the place where they will forget the barbed wire and the crematoriums. I have seen this simple faith in only one other group—the *sabras*, or native-born youth, of Palestine. The child of the Emek, rooted in the warm assurance of the soil of Palestine, and the rootless child of the D. P. camp, shivering in the chill of a German winter, dwell in the same emotional climate.

There are vocational classes for older boys and girls. Courses are given in millinery, dressmaking, radio, automobile mechanics, and the like, but the young people taking them are less content than the children who study geometry and history in Hebrew. I attended a vocational students' meeting at which grievances were voiced. I heard one plaint repeated over and over: "We have finished the course in dressmaking—or mechanics, or radio—and what now? What is the use of learning trades we can't practice?" They turned to me and asked me bitterly, "How long are we going to rot here?" "We have lost so much time," the young people cry, "the years in the ghetto, in the concentration camps, and now here!"

The leaders of the D. P. community, as well as the

representatives of the voluntary agencies, are aware of the danger of enforced idleness and are busily trying to create work projects. Such available work as the maintenance and cleaning of the camp does not provide an adequate outlet for the great abundance of energy and ability pent up in intelligent, active people. Schemes are therefore being evolved for various kinds of profitable occupation. In one camp I saw a newly installed sewing project: several hundred skilled tailors were turning out coats and uniforms for an army order. The success of this undertaking showed what good work could be produced when the workers felt that their labor had social and economic value.

However, what the D. P. needs most is not to have his lot improved but to stop being a D. P. Normal human beings, with a normal will for life and useful activity, cannot be cooped up indefinitely in an intrinsically abnormal situation without catastrophe.

The "illegal" movement to Palestine is bound to increase during the summer. Few will be deflected by the fear of Cyprus. I was present at a meeting which received the message: "Kibbutz X has already reached Cyprus";



the audience burst into applause. I have heard over-age men and women and others physically disqualified plead with the persons in charge of unauthorized immigration for permission to attempt the difficult mountain climb necessary to pass one of the borders. A man past fifty kept insisting, "But I am as strong as twenty years ago; I climbed those mountains in the first war." And an obviously feeble, middle-aged woman assured a skeptical examiner, "I am actually only thirty-five. I look older because of what I went through." When she was told gently that the road was beyond her strength, she burst into tears: "How much longer must I stay here."

A few will return to Poland, but for the majority that chapter is closed. I saw a sweet-faced little girl of twelve in a children's camp in Ulm. The matron pulled away the curls from her forehead and showed me a deep, wide cleft. The girl's history was to a certain point conventional: the father had been killed in a ghetto; the child had been hidden in a convent; the mother had somehow survived a concentration camp. After the war mother and



child had been reunited in a Polish town and had set up a home again. Then came a pogrom in which the mother was murdered and the child left for dead with her head bashed in. Somehow she was found alive, nursed back to health, and sent with a group of children to the haven of the American zone, *b derech*. Now she speaks Hebrew and wears her hair low over her forehead to hide the monstrous injury. This child cannot return to Poland. Others have less visible but just as genuine scars.

Though the overwhelming majority still cling tenaciously to the hope of Palestine, a growing number would be willing to go to any country where they could rebuild their lives. The American consulate is besieged with applications, but so far only a few thousand of the 39,000 visas permitted by the "Truman plan" have been granted. Current quota regulations are interpreted so strictly and arbitrarily that one can only conclude that the Presidential directive to facilitate immigration is being deliberately sabotaged. Of the 39,000 visas allotted, 26,000 were reserved for persons born in Germany; a grand total of 6,524 was made available for those born in Poland, who constitute the bulk of the refugee popu-

lation in Germany. So the "German" quota goes unfilled—there aren't enough eligible German survivors—while the "Polish" waiting list, at the present rate, would not be taken care of for years. And the "liberal" Truman project ends this summer.

Prospects for emigration to other countries are no rosier. Belgium wants only coal-miners. Huge, underpopulated Brazil sent a commission and finally offered to take a few hundred hand-picked individuals. And so it goes.

The Jewish D. P.'s are in a trap which they must break out of or perish. The imminent close of UNRRA and the uncertainties in regard to the U. N.'s International Refugee Organization leave no doubt that conditions will deteriorate still further. What this will mean in human misery is hard to imagine.

Palestine is still the most realistic choice. Whatever course the deliberations of the special session of the United Nations take, the trek toward the shores of the Mediterranean is bound to continue at an accelerated tempo. This is a factor which the United Nations should take into account.

## Curtain Raiser for '48

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

*Vancouver, Washington, May 25*

**A**DRESS rehearsal for 1948 is taking place in this mountainous corner of the state of Washington. So far it has been a pipsqueak performance, particularly on the part of the Republicans, who are too busy saving the country from Henry A. Wallace to take notice of such embarrassing matters as the 66 per cent reduction inflicted on the Bonneville Power Administration by their party in the House of Representatives.

On June 7 the voters of the Third District of Washington, which stretches from the Columbia River to the tidal flats at the lower tip of Puget Sound, pick a Congressman. The Republican nominee is Russell V. Mack, an amiable, unimaginative man who publishes the *Grays Harbor Washingtonian*. The Democratic candidate, Charles Savage, served the district in Congress once before. Last November he was beaten by Fred Norman, a Republican. Norman's death as the result of a heart attack made necessary the coming special election.

The Third District contains the most shockingly logged-over hillsides in the Far West. There are many

deserted sawmill towns. The rails of logging railroads rust in the rain. But the region has been resuscitated by Bonneville power. Aluminum factories and shipyards have risen on backwoods meadows around Vancouver and Longview. Practically every county in the district has a publicly operated power system. Thus when the Republican House of Representatives cut the Bonneville appropriation from \$20,278,000 to \$6,907,800, it furnished the Democrats with a ready-made issue.

Under these circumstances it is likely that Savage will regain the seat. Another factor in his favor is the continued rise in living costs. The cheap milk and honey which, according to the 1946 promises of the Republicans, were to follow the end of the OPA have not materialized. High prices contributed more than anything else to the downfall of the Democrats last year. Now, the Republican *Oregonian* of Portland points out, the same issue may confound the party which has assumed responsibility on Capitol Hill.

As yet the Republicans in the district have trotted out only one issue—communism. Savage, a New Deal Democrat, won the nomination over Attorney General Smith Troy, who campaigned in support of the Truman plan for aiding Greece and Turkey. Savage polled 16,536 votes, Troy 11,555. Savage said his victory indicated that

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the people "intend the tide of reaction to be turned." From the Republican utterances an onlooker could reasonably assume that Stalin's name was on the ballot with Molotov as his manager. Henry Wallace's presence in the Northwest this week has intensified the red-baiting. Attila the Hun could not have aroused the G. O. P. to greater fury.

Yet this "issue" too is clouded. Last autumn Representative Hugh De Lacy became the most decisively defeated Democratic Congressional candidate in the history of the Seattle district. For sixteen years Seattle had voted overwhelmingly for the Democrats. De Lacy lost by 50,000 votes, and carried down the whole Democratic ticket.

The De Lacy contest demonstrated conclusively that voters who will support New Dealers, liberals, and left-wingers cannot be induced to vote consistently for a man whose fundamental loyalty seems to be to the Communist Party line. In 1940 De Lacy cast the only ballot against Roosevelt's renomination at the Democratic National Convention. He feared the President would involve America in the "imperialist war." When Russia was attacked, De Lacy's opinion of the war changed. And after V-J Day getting our marines out of China appeared to interest him a good deal more than such questions as public power, high prices, and veterans' housing.

Savage, a bespectacled young logger, is a liberal. A member of the C. I. O. Woodworkers, the largest union in the district, he is backed by the strong anti-Communist faction in the organization. One of his chief supporters is Manley J. Wilson, editor of *The Woodworker*, who has sought to eliminate Communist influence in the union. Yet the one danger to Savage's candidacy is that the Republicans may succeed in identifying him with the De Lacy crowd. They are working overtime to accomplish it, for they realize how G. O. P. prestige will suffer if the Democrats win back a House seat lost last November.

Their anxiety about the June 7 election has already had a salutary result. Western Republicans have been importuning the Senate to restore funds to Bonneville, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation. The political vindictiveness which underlay the so-called House "economy" may be seen from the fact that the agencies that were cut most heavily had actually been returning money to the Treasury. The *New York Times* pointed out editorially last week that "as of June 30, 1946, the Bonneville Power Administration had returned . . . some \$80,000,000."

Perhaps not governmental extravagance but public development of natural resources is the real target of Mr. Taber's budget balancers. Realization of this in the towns along the Columbia, Cowlitz, and Lewis rivers may send a Democrat back to Congress on June 7.

## Food and Wages in France

BY LEON BLUM

Paris, May 23

THE bulk of the French people are convinced that under present economic conditions the only way to raise the purchasing power of wages, salaries, and other forms of income is by progressively lowering prices. They are equally convinced that the reduction inaugurated by governmental decree cannot be carried beyond a certain point unless there is an increase in output. This twofold conviction is at the very core of our people's thinking. Their present discontent does not mean that they are deceived or doubtful about the situation. It stems from the worry and irritation caused by the insufficient amounts of food obtainable.

In an economy of penury and disorder like ours the joint problem of wages and prices is of course inextricably bound up with the food situation. The general level of prices and in consequence the purchasing power of wages depend to a considerable extent on what proportion of the supply of food and other commodities is available at controlled prices and what proportion has been diverted from the public to the "parallel" market, commonly known as the black market. This is especially true with respect to food, whose cost is the largest item in the workingman's budget. Now it is clear that the inefficiency of the supply service, the lack of continuity in its policies, of coordination and firmness in its practice, the confusion in its administration, have hindered the regular distribution of such necessities as food and wine, have favored the development of the black market, and have provoked a race between wages and prices.

These errors in the service of supply—to which must be added in the case of wheat the natural catastrophe of the winter's intense cold—have unquestionably had repercussions in the field of wages and prices. Nevertheless, the present popular agitation seems to me largely of psychic origin. It is remarkable that public opinion is apparently less aroused because food is expensive than because stocks are inadequate and variable. It is less irritated and embittered by the abuses and scandals of the black market than by the failures of the whole provisioning system. People have reached the point where they exclaim: "Clear up this mess! We don't care whether things cost more or less, whether they are sold on the black market or not. We want to eat."

Undoubtedly the difficulty of buying food is the prime mover in the demand for higher wages. The workers who want more pay know perfectly well that it would be fol-

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lowed by a rise in prices, and that their real wages, above all their power to buy food, would not be increased. They have learned that once for all. But they are thoroughly exasperated by the food situation, and their wage demands are the natural, spontaneous expression of their irritation. If this discontent should continue and be

aggravated, it might take a still more dangerous form.

The National Assembly is discussing the problem. In coming weeks no more important matter will come before the government. Realization of this fact has led Paul Ramadier to take on himself the direction of the supply and distribution of food.

## Disunion in Vienna

BY G. E. R. GEDYE

Vienna, May 19

IN THE last five weeks Austrians have reached new depths of hunger. There has been no meat, fresh or tinned, no potatoes, no butter; grimly enough, there have been issues of "pudding powder" to people who have neither the fat nor the sugar to make a pudding, and of frozen fish when there is no fat to cook it in.

UNRRA supplies are moving steadily toward depletion. Austrian peasants, finding they can buy practically nothing with the money offered them for their produce, are withholding more and more rationed foodstuffs for barter or for sale on the black market. The output of industrial goods is hopelessly inadequate, both to supply home needs and to export in exchange for food from abroad—it is all the more so because the output of so many concerns is destined only for the Russians. But, above all, the zonal controls, which are being continued despite repeated promises that they will be done away with, are preventing the government from attempting to solve the problem of hunger by intelligently planned distribution of food stocks.

Just how bad the situation really is for the starving worker may be inferred from the following figures issued this month by the Allied Control Commission. In reading the table remember that a semi-skilled worker here earns about \$6 a week, an unskilled woman \$3.

Commodity	Rationed Price	Black-Market Price
Bread (kilo)	2½ cents	25 to 40 cents
Beef "	None available	\$4 to \$5.50
Shoes (pair)	\$2.50 to \$3	\$40 to \$100
	Rarely available	
Cloth (meter)	\$1.50 to \$4	\$30 to \$100
	Rarely available	
Lard (kilo)	75 cents	\$13 to \$16
	Rarely issued	
American cigarettes (each)	.....	10 to 12 cents

G. E. R. GEDYE is the Vienna correspondent of the London Daily Herald and the Overseas Press.

The Minister of Agriculture, Krauss (Volkspartei), recently demanded in Parliament that the Socialists agree to a 70 to 80 per cent increase in official prices paid to the peasant; failing which, deliveries would cease. He was warned by the Socialists that the only possible reply to such a move would be a general strike of the workers. No more has been heard of his demand.

There has been, all the same, a Communist-inspired drive for a general strike, which had its culmination in the scattered strikes and street demonstrations of May 5 in Vienna, but which has been completely stalled by the steady opposition and sound party discipline of the Socialists with the cooperation of the trade unions. The Communist May Day procession was interspersed with a number of lorries, moving at snail's pace in order to create the illusion that there were more of them, and chiefly supplied by Soviet-operated business concerns. These vehicles bore the slogans which were to crop up again four days later: "Away with the Calories Chancellor!" "Make the Peasants Give Us Our Potatoes!" and "Down with the Hunger Government!" And then, on May 5, came the newest slogan: "We Want a General Strike!" A number of unarmed policemen outside the Chancellery were beaten up, and some demonstrators broke into the building. Afterward the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Oscar Helmer, took pleasure in pointing out that the policemen who had been beaten were organized, as are all Viennese policemen these days, in trade unions, mostly Socialist or Communist unions.

The demonstration itself turned out to be a flop; not more than 5,000 workers allowed themselves to be exploited in the useless and wasteful event, and after eight hours of shouting slogans with Nazi-like precision the crowds dispersed.

The next day Chancellor Figl and various ministers, chiefly Socialists (Figl is of the conservative Volkspartei), received a delegation of trade-union leaders, including Communists. One of the latter sharply attacked the Chancellor, who is of peasant origin, for the failure of potato deliveries. The Chancellor replied pointedly that the main reason why Vienna got no potatoes was the refusal of the Russian authorities to permit the transport



of these vital supplies from Lower Austria to the capital.

Meanwhile the shop stewards and workers' councils had reviewed the situation and decided against a general strike, especially in view of the Chancellor's promise that in the future their leaders would be consulted on all rationing questions. The situation was well summed up by a resolution of the Railwaymen's Union:

We record with great bitterness that the situation of the workers is getting steadily worse. The weekly rations announced are insufficient for two days, let alone an entire week. The health of the workers and their families is gravely threatened. But we further put on record our conviction that strikes and demonstrations are not calculated to produce more food, and only bring new dangers to the city populations. We demand that all officials should do their utmost to get food to the Viennese workers and rigorously punish all economic saboteurs.

On May 6, also, the Socialist Party held its Extraordinary General Party Congress. A long resolution was passed, expressing great indignation over the failure of the Moscow conference and demanding the earliest possible withdrawal of the bulk of the occupying forces without waiting for the conclusion of a treaty. It went on to ask for the release of schools, hospitals, and dwelling places from requisition; restoration of full control over Austria's resources to Austria's government; submission of all industries in Austria to Austrian laws and economic regulations; an end to the requisitioning of Austrian food and industrial products by any occupying power; and transfer of all costs of occupation from Austria to the power concerned.

A similar resolution was then introduced in Parliament and was accepted, with the Communists voting against every demand, though all must be obtained if the chaotic conditions in this country are to be remedied.

## Taiwan: China's Unhappy Colony

BY PEGGY DURDIN

*Nanking, China*

WHAT was the cause of the recent uprising in Taiwan?" a correspondent asked Chen Yi, governor of the island at the time. "The fact that we had too few troops," he said.

Eighteen months ago the Nanking government had a chance to make Taiwan (Formosa) the show piece which Japan had planned it to be in the "Greater East Asia" sphere. A relatively efficient Japanese bureaucracy had monopolized the island's agriculture, trade, and industry, gearing them to Japan's economy, but in so doing, it had helped Taiwan achieve a high industrial and agricultural level. Before the war the island's annual exports were valued at \$250,000,000, half the amount of the projected American loan to China. It was, and is, about thirty years ahead of mainland China in industrial development, with more factories than any Chinese province except Kiangsu. Although many plants suffered damage during the war, reserves on hand provided means for their restoration. Bank balances still existed; there were stocks of raw materials and finished products. Foreign experts calculated that with sound management and planning Taiwan industry could soon be put back on its feet. Although most top industrial positions had been

held by Japanese, the Taiwanese were industrially minded and technically competent.

Before the war Taiwan had not only been self-sufficient in food but had exported half its crop. Given fertilizers and government direction, it could again produce large quantities of foodstuffs. The island was served with good highways, railways, and harbors. Its standard of living was well above that of the Chinese mainland. Electric power was plentiful; every little home had electric lights. Cities were neat and clean. Public health was good. The educational level was far above that of the average Chinese province. The people were politically alert. Japan had been forced to give them the outward form of democratic government; they had learned some of the mechanics of self-rule, and their hatred of Japan had given them a desire for the actuality. Clearly, Taiwan would be a great asset to China, and not least because the Taiwanese were happy to be reunited to the motherland.

Nanking proceeded to rule Taiwan as an inferior, subjugated colony. The government it installed was feudal, incompetent, arrogant, and corrupt. Nanking's policy was not to develop the island for the benefit of the people; it was to exploit Taiwan resources for the depleted national treasury.

To accomplish this purpose Nanking handed Taiwan over to an old-fashioned war lord. Governor Chen Yi was given absolute military, political, and economic power; Taiwan was not even granted provincial status. Chen Yi imported his government from the mainland.

PEGGY DURDIN is The Nation's correspondent in China. An article describing the March uprising and terror in Taiwan appeared two weeks ago.

Not a single department chief and only one deputy chief was a native of the island. Most of the magistrates, mayors, and judges were mainlanders. The Taiwanese soon decided they had only exchanged one oppression for another, with the Chinese as autocratic and more greedy but less efficient than the Japanese. "There are no shoemakers left in Shanghai," runs a scornful Taiwanese saying. "They are all running the government of Taiwan."

According to competent observers, corruption and nepotism riddled the administration, the operation of government-owned business, the law courts, and the police. "Take-over" of Japanese property made Taiwan a looter's paradise. Soldiers stole furniture and window panes; high officials made fortunes out of the government's strangle-hold on the economy. The Chinese mayor of one city sold the rice and cement "taken over" from the Japanese and pocketed the cash. When a local paper printed the facts of the case, the official prudently scurried to Shanghai. Several months later the government published a statement saying the matter had been "investigated" and the mayor found guiltless. The gentleman in question, whitewashed and safe, returned to Taiwan in an important army post.

During the recent riots the Taiwanese reported that huge amounts of money and gold were found in officials' houses. One school principal had been signing salary sheets for a non-existent staff and pocketing the money.

The manufacture and sale of cement are controlled by the government. Taiwanese are unable to get cement at the controlled price to repair their buildings and homes. Government agencies request and get greater allocations of cement than their projects require, sell the surplus on the black market, and pocket a nice profit.

Taiwan courts were reputed to be moderately honest under the Japanese. Chinese justice is often venal. The only sure way to get out of jail is to use bribery, say the Taiwanese. People can be arrested on suspicion alone and too frequently have no chance of a fair trial. Many wealthy Taiwanese have been arrested simply for purposes of extortion; many corrupt mainlanders have had immunity from arrest or trial.

When Japan owned or controlled the Taiwan economy, it put part of the profits back into the development of Taiwan. After the Chinese government "took over," the Taiwanese watched their country deteriorate before their eyes. "Formerly Japan got the banquet and we got the crumbs," they say. "Now there are no crumbs."

A small clique around the governor completely controls Taiwan's industry, agriculture, communications, shipping, banking. The National Resources Commission runs the petroleum-refining, aluminum, and copper-mining industries for the Nanking treasury. In cooperation with the Taiwan provincial government it manages the production of sugar, electric power, chemical fer-

tilizer, cement, paper, and alkalis. Nanking gets 40 per cent of the profits, the Taiwan treasury the rest. The Taiwan provincial government owns and operates almost all other industries—building, coal, iron and steel, textiles, electrical supplies, glass, soap, tea, shipbuilding, printing. It owns and operates life insurance, navigation, transportation. The government has continued the Japanese Monopoly Bureau, which controls the production and sale of such popular commodities as tobacco, liquor, camphor, salt, and matches. A Board of Trade controls the island's import and export trade. This complete economic power has been used by Chen Yi's government mainly to fill official coffers—not, except to a very limited extent, to rebuild and rehabilitate the island.

Bank reserves and other assets of industry were seized by the government, and only small sums have been made available for reconstruction. Take the sugar industry. The war's end found half a million tons of sugar in Taiwan. This the Nanking government confiscated and is transporting to the mainland to sell. The proceeds go into the Nanking treasury while sugar factories lack funds for necessary repairs. Cement factories are unable to operate fully because China prefers to sell Taiwan's coal for high prices on the mainland.

Since many factories have not been repaired or are operating at low capacity, there is much unemployment. Repatriation of overseas Taiwanese has aggravated the problem, which the government has made no real effort to solve. During the war the Japanese built at Chiayi a large factory for making high-octane gas. Now it is closed, and one-fifth of the town's population are out of work. It is not surprising that at Chiayi last month there was fierce fighting against the mainlanders.

Only a program of immediate and generous reform can rehabilitate China in the eyes of the Taiwanese. But it is doubtful whether the present Nanking government is capable of establishing an honest, liberal, competent administration. What the Taiwanese really want is to be a United Nations mandate, under the United States. If they cannot get this status, three things are likely to happen: economic conditions will further deteriorate; the Taiwanese will revolt again against mainland rule; and the United States will lose its popularity and prestige as it has lost them on the mainland and for the same reason—that it supports bad government.



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## *Del Vayo*—Reaction in Latin America

ONE of the things that has surprised me most in the years I have spent in the United States is the limited interest in Latin America. It is not for lack of information; the big news agencies cover everything important that happens in that part of the world. But the average cultivated American, beginning with columnists and radio commentators, eagerly follows news from Europe or Asia while remaining indifferent to Latin American events. At this moment the southern continent is going through one of the most critical stages of its history, but only a few North Americans are paying the slightest attention to it.

The latest political episode "south of the border" outstrips in cynicism all previous records. To see General Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua toss out of office the man whom he so recently planted in the Presidency and set up another subordinate as Provisional President may prove somewhat disturbing even to those State Department officials who are most tolerant of the peculiarities of Latin American democracy. In the final analysis Somoza is little different from Trujillo, the Dominican dictator. But at least Trujillo goes to the trouble of staging a "free election," while the Nicaraguan *caudillo* apparently assumes that recent developments in Washington make it safe for him to dispense with such formalities. The flaw in the Somoza system is that his Charlie McCarthy may any day imagine himself actually the President, forgetting that the real head of the state is not necessarily the one who wears the title. The late President Arguello made this mistake; he has been replaced by a man whose very name, Lacayo Sacasa, symbolizes the nature of his position. *Lacayo* means lackey.

But the buffoonery of this latest romance of power only caricatures the grave situation affecting all the republics of Central America. In 1944, encouraged by the general propaganda for democracy that accompanied the war, a movement of liberation swept those republics. It resulted in the overthrow of Maximiliano Hernandez Martínez of El Salvador and Jorge Ubico of Guatemala. The Martínez regime has been a disgrace to the Western world. His famous massacre of 1932, when he machine-gunned thousands of peasants, should have been enough to isolate him from the rest of the hemisphere. Twelve years later he treated himself to a second massacre, this time making effective use of the tanks that lend-lease had put at his disposal. But in 1944 the people of El Salvador gathered fresh strength and threw him out.

There followed the ousting of Ubico in Guatemala. For many years Ubico had been the idol of certain American business interests. As a business man himself he was of indisputable efficiency. In spite of a well-preserved legend of honesty, the present Guatemala regime has been able to expose the profits the dictator drew from his monopoly of the export of meat and the precious wood of Petén.

In El Salvador the popular victory was very ephemeral. The role played by its representative as Franco's advocate in the United Nations Assembly last December revealed the

reactionary character of the regime that, after a few turns of the political wheel, had come to power. But Guatemala remains a spearhead of militant anti-fascism in Central America. In contrast to that of El Salvador, the excellent position taken by Ambassador García Granados during the debate on Spain and more recently on Palestine has gained for Guatemala general international respect. But it is democratic regimes like Guatemala's that would be most threatened if the Somoza coup won Washington's approval, for such approval would stimulate all the reactionary factions in Latin America.

Behind every pro-fascist maneuver it is possible to sense the encouragement and the money of foreign interests. Certain big American companies always prefer Somozas; and particularly they oppose the idea of a Central American federation, which has always been an object of the democratic trend in those countries. The day that a Central American federation is established it will no longer be possible for the little local tyrants to use their personal "élite guards" to appoint and dismiss Presidents at their pleasure, or on the orders of those who are willing to finance such operations.

The wave of reaction was set in motion by the greater tide moving up from Argentina, but the real impulse originated in Madrid. In this connection it is interesting to take note of two social events in Spain. One was the reception given last week by the new Argentine ambassador, who since his arrival, in open defiance of the December resolution of the United Nations, has become the hero of the Falange. At this reception the distinguished delegate of Argentina to the United Nations, Dr. Arce, was present and according to the Madrid press acted as host together with the Ambassador. His presence in Madrid on the eve of the June meeting of the Security Council, where the Spanish problem is expected to come up again, has been interpreted in Spain as an act of collaboration with Franco in sabotaging the action of the Council. The other bit of social news is the visit to Madrid of Señora Eva Duarte de Perón, the first lady of Argentina. Though her visit is being given an almost religious character—Santiago de Compostela and Burgos, two famous Catholic cities, are going to present the former actress with all kinds of sacred relics and images—it has also distinct political nuances. From Spain she will go to see the Pope. The Vatican-Madrid-Buenos Aires axis undoubtedly hopes that the fascization of Latin America will proceed faster under the double sign of the eternal Eve and the eternal Cross.

I have been insisting for weeks that it is not only the British but the Americans too who are helping Franco with money at a moment when the dictator is shooting more Spanish Republicans than ever. Official Washington has denied it. But Sam Pope Brewer, in the *New York Times* of June 1, says that negotiations for large credits from American financial interests "are definitely confirmed," and adds that "the effect in Spain of such credits is political." No foreign credits today can be granted without government authorization.





## EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Speak Up, Consumers!

ARE you, dear Madam, budgeting to replace that winter coat which is showing its age and those blankets which the moths have nibbled? Have you, my dear Sir, a suit that is baggy at the knees and worn at the elbows, and are you hoping to buy another one when prices come down a little? If so, may I suggest that you both give attention to what Congress is doing to interfere with your plans. Apparently hypnotized by the bleating of forty million sheep and their owners, it is legislating to keep wool prices at their present heights. If the measure known as the Robertson bill goes through, the laws of supply and demand will be suspended as far as wool is concerned, and you, the consumers, will pay what the wool men demand. Isn't it time to let Congress know your views?

Perhaps you don't realize what you are already paying in tribute to the wool growers and manufacturers. According to an article in the January issue of *Fortune*, the tariff on imported wool added \$136,000,000 to America's clothing bill in 1946—\$10,000,000 more than the value of all wool produced in the United States that year. And, *Fortune* points out, this was only a beginning. "As wool is marketed, processed, woven into cloth, cut and tailored, then retailed, the original duty cost of 34 cents a pound is compounded with each successive price mark-up. Moreover, for the benefit of United States mills the tariff on raw wool is reinforced by an even higher tariff on woolen fabrics, so that last year the total extra cost—because of wool tariffs—to the citizens of the United States may have topped a billion."

You may not realize, either, that you have also been contributing to the support of the wool growers in your capacity as taxpayers. Since April, 1943, the government has been buying a large part of the American wool clip at above the market price. The Commodity Credit Corporation, the government buying agency, now holds some 420,000,000 pounds which, under present circumstances, could only be sold at a loss of many millions of dollars.

The purpose of the bill sponsored by Senator Robertson of Wyoming—a large sheep rancher himself—is to bail out the CCC and at the same time freeze the price of wool for the next two years at its 1946 peak. Both Senate and House versions of the measure instruct the Secretary of Agriculture to support domestic wool prices at 42 cents a pound "in the grease" and authorize the sale of present stocks at whatever loss is necessary. An amendment added by the House, however, seeks to bring the price of foreign wool up to the same level by instructing the President to impose a special "import fee," additional to the tariff, if he finds imports are reducing the amount of domestic fiber processed. This fee could be whatever amount was required to prevent foreign wools from underselling the domestic product. When the

bill goes to conference, the Senate is expected to agree to this amendment. A lot of its members come from states where there are far more sheep than voters.

The House voted this bill by 151 to 65 on May 23. You may not have noticed the press reports, for they were overshadowed by the story of the slashing cuts made by the Appropriations Committee in the Department of Agriculture's expenditures—cuts which threaten to cripple the soil-conservation, school-lunch, crop-insurance, and other programs. The report of this committee condemned "the paternalistic road along which there are subsidies and grants coupled with more and more direction from Washington." It went on to say: "As we give thought to soil conservation . . . we also have the responsibility of pursuing those policies that will prevent the erosion of that rugged individual character which has made the American farmer the greatest producer of agricultural commodities . . . in the world's history." Having issued these stirring thoughts, some members of the committee straightway voted to give the rugged sheep farmers what is, in effect, a new subsidy.

Your chief hope as consumers now lies in a Presidential veto of the Robertson bill. This may be forthcoming, although Mr. Truman is likely to get conflicting advice on the subject from his official family. The Department of Agriculture has supported the bill, including the import fee provision. The Department of State, on the other hand, is flabbergasted by a measure which makes the United States appear not merely inconsistent but hypocritical to other nations. For on the State Department falls the task of spearheading the *American-inspired* crusade to lower trade barriers and banish economic warfare from the earth.

Since early April an American delegation in Geneva has been engaged in negotiations with seventeen other nations in an effort to obtain worldwide, reciprocal reductions in tariffs. Among other objectives it is seeking a modification of the British Commonwealth's tariff-preference system, which has hindered the sale of American goods in some of their most promising markets. According to reports, the conference was making progress, with Australia in particular showing a more accommodating spirit than had been expected. Then came the stunning news from Washington of a Congressional move to slap a new tariff on a commodity of vital interest to Australia. No wonder the conference came to a jarring halt, forcing Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton to fly home for a last-minute effort to repair the damage.

There are, of course, plenty of unregenerate protectionists in Congress who will be only too happy if Geneva ends in failure. They never did believe in the reciprocal-trade-agreements program, and they want to raise tariffs, not lower them. But I doubt whether you, Madam, and you, Sir, will be so complacent. As consumers you know that high tariffs mean high prices; as producers, particularly if you are engaged in the increasing number of industries vitally affected by world trade, you know that prosperity cannot be won by a retreat to Hawley-Smootism; as citizens you know that a new era of international economic warfare will be fatal to all hopes of lasting peace. But if you want your views to prevail in Washington you must make yourself heard above the bleating of the special interests.

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN HIS LATEST BOOK Sinclair Lewis has trained his guns and his gifts on the most deeply interesting as well as the most troublesome issue in the United States, commonly and coldly known as the Negro problem. "Kingsblood Royal" (Random House, \$3) is a tract, an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of the industrial middle-class North at the end of World War II. Its hero is Neil Kingsblood, handsome ex-captain of infantry with red hair and "freckled paws," who has been wounded in action and has come home early, with a limp, to his beautiful wife Vestal and their golden-haired daughter Biddy. He is nicely established in the Second National Bank in Grand Republic, Minnesota, and it is generally agreed that he will some day be president of that institution. Then while humoring his father's whim to prove that they are the true heirs to the British throne (shades of Colonel Sellers), he discovers that his great-great-great grandfather on his mother's side was a full-blooded Negro from Martinique.

Mainly because of this discovery, but also because he is having a few disturbing post-war thoughts, Neil Kingsblood gets interested in the colored people who live in Grand Republic. He falls in love with them, and finally reveals his secret, first to his colored friends and then to his white associates—under the provocation of their smug and scurrilous remarks. Whereupon the best people, and the worst, in the white community go to work. The story ends with a mob on the Kingsblood lawn successfully imposing the unwritten law that colored people are not fit to live in white neighborhoods.

It is extremely unlikely that a young banker in Grand Republic would reveal his secret or go over to the colored world as Kingsblood did. But if he did, it is all too likely, though some reviewers have maintained otherwise, that his white friends and associates would behave as badly as Lewis makes out. The device is arbitrary; the sequence that

flows out of it seemed to me painfully convincing. I grant that his portrait of the white world of Grand Republic could be richer in complexity and texture. But he takes into account not only the "lynchers of the Northern or inoperative variety" but also the weaklings of good-will, and their talk reads like something overheard, not invented. Again, his portrait shows the marks of one of the defects which have made Lewis an artist *manqué* and kept him from being the great or near-great novelist he might have become. For reasons which are probably to be looked for in the combination of a Sinclair Lewis and the country he was born in, he tends to submerge under a protective crust of scorn that becomes hard and dry what are actually ambivalent and profoundly creative feelings of love and hatred for the small-business and country-club world he knows so well. But here the ambivalence shows through often enough to provide the light and heat of reality.

His evocation of the Negro world of Grand Republic is much less successful. The love that Kingsblood develops for his new-found people is too pat, and since these passages are written out of a rational knowledge consciously acquired and imperfectly assimilated rather than out of experience unconsciously and completely absorbed, the glow of reality is missing.

But if Neil Kingsblood's affair with the colored race fails to convince, there can be no doubt of the authenticity and strength of Lewis's feeling about the "Negro problem," of which this affair is an unsuccessful projection, and this feeling sweeps through the reader's mind like a clean wind.

"Kingsblood Royal" is not a good novel, but it is the work, however imperfect, of a genuinely creative talent—and it leaves one with the exhilarated sense of having had an actual and purgative experience. It also gives rise to the sad reflection that a writer with such gifts of wit, gusto, and skill should have been capable not only of a tract for the times but of a dozen books for the ages. There ought to be a more durable sanc-

tuary than "Kingsblood Royal" for such flights as his apostrophe to the Little Woman of the Ages, "very pleasant and kind and helpful to the ambitions of her husband and the boys, and many of them were very bad ambitions," who when she speaks says, "I don't know anything about anthropology and ethnology and biology and all that silly junk . . . but I tell you there's a darky family lives right down the alley from us where they keep goats and I know and I'm telling you that the darkies are inferior to us. . . ." All of this she learned "from my father, who was a wonderful man, and if he were alive today, he simply would not stand for all this nonsense"; and she finally announces that she doesn't want to hear "any more such nonsense, . . . and now let's have another nice cup of coffee and say nothing more about it."

Or his collation of the American credo about Negroes, which must be read in full. Or his remark that the Union Theological Seminary believes in a Trinity consisting of Father, Son, and Sociology. Or such phrases as the "non-country-club races." Or his scenes in the Colonial Residence of the Young Banker in the Sylvan Park "development" of Grand Republic.

FOR THE department of exploded myths and overturned verities: Some weeks ago Aylmer Vallance reported deep discontent over the price of cigarettes in England. Where there are no smokes, there may be a conflagration. . . . A farmer who was struck and killed by a train in Pennsylvania had a four-leaf clover in his pocket. Which for some reason reminded me of the pedestrian who was all but run over by the bus I was riding in—but survived to walk under a ladder that was standing on the sidewalk.

THOUGHT BY THE WAY: A writer for the *New Masses*, having his own secular religion with its Trinity and Scripture, isn't bothered by the old Bible precepts. Nevertheless, he must spend a lot of time wrestling with the angle.



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### More Blessed to Give

*TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY.*

Edited by Mordecai Ezekiel. Harper and Brothers. \$5.50.

**W**HEN somebody advocates lending, or giving away, billions or dollars all over the world, solid citizens snort at the vagaries of soft-headed liberals. Why don't these foreign ne'er-do-wells learn to feed themselves? A little post-war relief may be all very well, but the longer we continue it, the longer people will be prevented from standing on their own feet. As for equipping them with modern machinery, either they won't be able to repay us or they will emerge as dangerous competitors, perhaps even as menacing war economies. America is already far in the lead in production and ought to stay that way.

These arguments may sound good enough as long as there are scarcities at home and inflation keeps driving prices up. Adding a big foreign demand for American goods by financing their export makes things still harder for the American consumer—as in the case of food in early 1947. But the picture is changing. Some home markets are already flooded. Signs of depression and unemployment are beginning to appear in the skies like southward migrating birds in autumn. There may come a time in the not distant future when American employers and workers will be only too glad to investigate foreign markets. When that time comes, books like this will be eagerly consulted.

Mordecai Ezekiel argues forcefully not only that loan-financed exports would help employment in this country but that they would be good long-run policy. The twenty contributors, each an expert on the region concerning which he writes, demonstrate that there is ample opportunity for really productive investments. Britain needs extensive re-equipment with modern machinery so that its limited labor force can produce the great expansion of exports needed to sustain its population. Devastated Russia could not restore its industries, railroads, mines, and agriculture for many years without importing new equipment. France needs goods desperately, as does Italy.

Less developed countries cannot sustain a decent standard of living so long

as a large proportion of their populations are engaged in agriculture and extractive industries. A survey of this sort, broad and sketchy though it is, leaves one with an overwhelming sense of the need for capital that America must have a large share in providing, if it is to be forthcoming. The alternative is poverty and chaos, revolution and war.

The detailed estimates indicate that in the first post-war decade, \$50 billion would be required for investment in more backward regions alone—Eastern Europe, China, South and Central America, and India. Of this amount between \$30 billion and \$35 billion of goods would have to come from the nations already industrialized. Many of these nations in turn would need heavy imports from the United States. "Contrasted to these needs, the seven or eight billions with which the new International Bank opens its doors is small indeed." Large though the required sums are, they contrast with the \$325 billion spent by the United States on World War II.

Of course we could not go on forever maintaining our population by sending out our "surplus" product, and also sending out the money which foreigners could use to buy it. We should have to buy more from them as well. But the building of new industries and the re-equipment of old ones has long been recognized as the foundation of rising standards of living. While it is going on, we might have a breathing space in which we could learn how to consume—without inflation—as much as we can produce.

GEORGE SOULE

### A New Concept

**WAR STRESS AND NEUROTIC ILLNESS.** By Abram Kardiner, M. D., with the Collaboration of Herbert Spiegel, M. D. Paul B. Hoeber, Medical Book Department of Harper and Brothers. \$4.50.

**F**OR the lay reader the principal value of "War Stress and Neurotic Illness" will be in its clear-cut account of the factors responsible for breakdown, its rich and apposite case material from two world wars, its analysis of symptom formation, and the social effects of the disorder. The present work is a revision of Kardiner's mono-

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Dr. P



graph on the traumatic neuroses. For the technical reader its most suggestive and challenging feature will be the author's rejection of the concept of instinct, traditional in psychoanalytic thought, and his replacement of it by an operational construct—the action system—as the key principle of his psychodynamics. The concept of instinct, the author finds, fails to provide a sound basis for understanding the traumatic neurosis, while the new concept has proved itself an aid to diagnosis, to treatment, and to its social implications. The book, which is by no means easy reading, is both provocative and brilliant and cannot fail to be of value to the interested lay or professional reader. The author insists that the greatest obstacle in achieving cures is still, and will continue to be, the lack of skilled workers. He looks with little favor upon piece-meal compensation which creates dependency and complicates and interferes with sound therapy. Treatment, not bed space and compensation, is what is required, and for that reason he urges greater attention to training competent psychiatric personnel.

PHILLIP J. ZLATCHIN

### South Africa's Problems

**STRUGGLE ON THE VELD.** By Roderick Peattie. The Vanguard Press. \$3.50.

THE choice of Dr. Peattie, one of our most distinguished geographers, to head the South African outpost of the Office of War Information was an extremely happy one. For no country on earth offers more varied, interesting, and complicated problems of geography, human and physical, than the Union of South Africa. Dr. Peattie here reviews some of these problems, giving particular attention to relations between the huge, oppressed Bantu majority of the population and the ruling white minority. That is the question that looms menacingly over the future of South Africa, and the other main issues discussed in this book—the Indian immigrants, Anglo-Afrikaner tensions, poor whites, erosion, the lopsidedness of an economy dominated by gold-mining—are intimately connected with it.

Dr. Peattie's observations on all these

matters prompt the hope that some day he will return to South Africa under his own steam and produce a more extensive and careful study. His present work provides a useful introduction to those unfamiliar with the subject, but it is really little more than a notebook and one, moreover, which would have benefited by more thorough editing.

KEITH HUTCHISON

### Drama

JOSEPH  
WOOD  
KRUTCH

JOHN GIELGUD'S "Love for Love" (Royale Theater) is certainly the best of the four productions of that particular play I have ever had an opportunity to see. Unfortunately, however, that does not mean that it is as good as his "The Importance of Being Earnest" or that he has made its delights and its beauties accessible to as large a public. For the Wilde play he discovered a style which tells us exactly in what way we are to take it; for Congreve's even more famous comedy he has not been able to do the same thing with an equal degree of success. Quite possibly no one could succeed completely. Its theatrical conventions are too remote from ours, and, what is more important, its language and its peculiar synthesis of a complex of attitudes are equally remote. Wilde's play seemed even better than I had ever imagined it was. "Love for Love" still yields to the reader certain insights and felicities the full value of which do not come across in production.

This is not because of any obvious defects in the playing of the principal parts. Mr. Gielgud has taken for himself the straight and relatively colorless role of the hero Valentine, probably for the sake of the feigned madness scene in the second act, where he gives a really superb performance as a sort of parody Hamlet. Pamela Brown, who was incomparable as Wilde's Gwendolin, gives considerable substance to the rather sketchily written part of Valentine's beloved, Angelica; Adrienne Allen is almost too attractive for Mrs. Frail; and Jessie Evans is amusingly abandoned as Miss Prue. Robert Fleming's Sailor Ben is excellent, and if he is by no means as funny as Bobby Clark was in the "Players" revival, at least his performance does not, as Bobby's did, first demolish and then ex-

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Department of Mathematics,  
Queens College, N. Y.

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tinguish everything else. But despite these and other good performances, despite also a generally very smooth production, we still do not quite know into what whole the cynicism, the bawdy, the elaborately intellectualized wit, and the few but important touches of sentiment are to combine.

It helps to know something of Restoration society, of Restoration dramatic conventions, and even, also, something about Congreve himself. But the general public can hardly be expected to be students of the manners and customs of that remote epoch, and though I happen to have devoted considerable time to it I must confess that I also have never been certain that I quite grasped the way in which the play as a whole could be found entirely satisfying aesthetically. The author's great reputation is certainly not undeserved: there are scenes upon which a critic may profitably dilate at length, and Congreve's language, always perfectly under control, can alternate between a rich, almost poetic exuberance which sometimes suggests the Elizabethan and a cold, witty precision which ought to delight a semanticist. But "Love for Love"—though less conspicuously than "The Way of the World"—is, among other things, inescapably a love story also, and the hero, who is first introduced to us at the moment when he is irascibly blaming a whore for not abort-

ing his bastard son, whom he refuses to have anything more to do with, is also romantically faithful to his Angelica in his fashion. What are we to make of that?

Perhaps it will help to remember that "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Love for Love" were written almost exactly 200 years apart—the one in the sixteen nineties, the other in the eighteen nineties—and that both were, in something more than a merely chronological sense, *fin de siècle*. Wilde's play was written at the end of a sentimental epoch which it burlesques; Congreve's was written at the end of a brutally debauched and cynical epoch which was about to give way, in the theater at least, to a reaction which took the form of a more than Victorian abandonment to maudlin sentimentality. Indeed, there is a theory, supported by some evidence, that Congreve cut short his brief and dazzlingly successful career in disgust at the popularity of Colley Cibber, the inanity of whose plays is both unbelievable in itself and doubly incredible as writing done in Congreve's own time. Congreve's own plays show a certain tentative attempt to suggest that the possibility of one kind of romantic love has survived, and that Valentine recognizes in Angelica something which he has been educated not to believe in but to which he nevertheless responds.

There is significance in the fact that

Congreve himself was reputed to have pursued—perhaps successfully, perhaps not—the feminine star, Ann Bracegirdle, whose personality led playwrights to create for her roles somewhat more romantic than those which had previously prevailed—just as the personality of Nell Gwyn, a generation earlier, had led other playwrights to create the hoydens who had once been so popular. Angelica is but a slight preliminary sketch for Millamant in "The Way of the World," but in the case of both the essential fact is that they are witty creatures trained in smart cynicism but eager for a kind of love in which neither they nor their suitors profess to believe. The problem for both of them, as well as for both of their lovers, is to confess their true feelings without losing that reputation for wit and sophistication which they cannot lose without forfeiting their own self-respect and also the respect of the men who are demanding both romantic love and a worldliness which is all but incompatible with it.

One of the characters in "Love for Love" closes a scene with the now well-known couplet:

Women are like tricks by slight  
of hand,  
Which, to admire, we should not  
understand.

Or, as our idiom has it, "It's fun to be fooled." But Congreve, one gets the impression, was trying, perhaps against his better judgment, to understand them.

## Art

CLEMENT  
GREENBERG

THE first representative showing anywhere outside Spain of the work Joan Miró has done since 1939 (at Pierre Matisse's through June 7) is an event whose importance to the American art world cannot be overestimated. Miró is the only painter to have emerged since 1925—that is, after Matisse, Picasso, Klee, and Kandinsky—whose art has extended the limits of Western painting in a way at all comparable to theirs. He took up the cubist tradition where Picasso left it and added not only a positive personality but a wider demonstration of what is possible in the use of flat color and the closed silhouette. A Mediterranean like Picasso, Miró adheres similarly to a certain quasi-sculptural conception of the picture as

Pablo  
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involving the monolithic definition of shapes, flat surfaces, smooth, compact brushwork, pure, uniform color. He too favors the figure as a motif, hardly ever the landscape, rarely the still life. In his rejection of impressionist and expressionist immediacy as conveyed through open forms and loose brushwork, Miró brings himself closer at the same time to Mondrian; however spontaneous and instinctive his mode of operation, however open his art to instantaneous suggestion, he likewise conceives of the picture as primarily a finished, sealed product and only secondarily as a direct revelation of the artist's temperament.

If Miró were only the quintessential lyric painter he is commonly held to be, his influence would not be such a potentially great factor in the future of painting. That influence, paradoxically, has been felt mainly in this country, since both the younger French and the younger British painters, in their desire to hold on to traditional easel painting, seem reluctant to go beyond Picasso and cubism proper. That desire has been less strong in this country, and in any case the presence and the precepts of Hans Hofmann have been enough to in-

sure that our most alert and ambitious young painters do not overlook the Catalonian artist. And it is indeed impermissible that any new painting which transcends the merely pleasing and advances the frontiers of art historically should fail to deal with Miró any more than with Matisse and Picasso. It is significant that Miró's influence is prominent, along with Picasso's, in the formation of Jackson Pollock's art; and Pollock is the most important new painter since Miró himself.

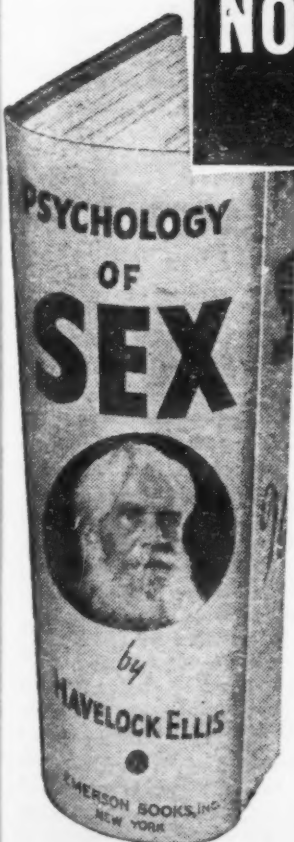
Miró's development is somewhat difficult to trace in a straight line after about 1930, at which time he precipitated the integral elements of his style; upon these he has played powerful variations but without adding anything essentially new—refining and elaborating rather than expanding and assimilating. Nor does the present exhibition, crowded as it is with successful pictures, large and small, in oil, gouache, and pastel, add anything essentially new to what we already know about Miró. As usual, he shows almost infallible tact in setting himself terms that he is able to fill exactly. Again we have his marvelous calligraphy, the inevitable justness with which he handles black, royal blue, deep

red, and yellow, his control of and agreement with the flat surface, again the pastoral, everyday subject, the mocking descant on the phallus and the pudenta. Here and there an even greater tendency toward linearism is perceptible, but where Miró, as in a picture like the vertical "Woman and Bird in Sun," tries to escape from the arabesque and soften the silhouette into a more "painterly" harmony with the supposed background (really, there are no backgrounds in Miró's pictures), he falls flat with a definiteness of failure such as he shows nowhere else.

Miró remains still in the private hedonism of the first decade after the First World War, his impulse still the personal optimism of the twenties, the optimism that said, "We can at least have fun." In retrospect it is he who seems the painter-laureate of the Left Bank in its heyday, and aptly enough, he was the inspirer of such other celebrators of that same place and period as Calder and Stuart Davis. And perhaps it is because Miró's mood fitted the American one at that time better than any other that Americans have shown greater receptiveness to his art.

Miró's hedonism is responsible for

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that elegant, tactful exuberance which has led some people to charge him with *chic*, frivolity, thinness. It is true that some of his most ambitious pictures seem to lose their substance under long scrutiny and that his invention—whose impulse owes so much to Klee—appears unsuitable at times to the large surfaces it tries to populate. Whimsy does not translate into murals—or does it? And is Miró wrong to be more ambitious than Klee, who was more original? The fact is that we are sometimes puzzled to see so much originality, in both

painters, put to the service of what seem small ideas. But I think we may be wrong, and more so in Miró's case than in Klee's.

The same charge of frivolity and superficiality has been made against Matisse. And just as Matisse's cold hedonism and ruthless exclusion of everything but the concrete, immediate sensation will in the future, once we are away from the present *Zeitgeist*, be better understood as the most profound mood of the first half of the twentieth so, I feel sure, Miró's warmer and

gentler hedonism will take on greater seriousness, and we shall see that his art, like Tiepolo's, is larger than the mood from which it springs. Many of Miró's paintings, perhaps even that large one in the Museum of Modern Art's permanent collection with which I myself have fallen so much out of love, will then regain their potency and their creator receive more convinced recognition as one of the masters of Western painting. Time will perhaps do as much for him as it has just done for Pissarro and Sisley.

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# Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

THERE is nothing quite like the way the New Friends of Music crave and clamor for approval of their aims and achievements. They crave it equally for aims that are important—like giving good chamber music concerts at low prices, or giving a work without interruptions and disturbances between movements; and for aims that are trivial or questionable—like abolishing encores, flowers, and intermissions (the intermission is a necessary break in programs as long as the New Friends); and their way of rushing the concerts through, under the pressure of other concerts and meal-times, creates a tense and hectic atmosphere that is undesirable. And they crave it for the achievement of important aims which, actually, they do not carry out.

But what is astonishing is the way the New Friends succeed in getting the approval they want—even from people whom one would expect to know better. It isn't surprising that a Mark Schubart—in a *Times* article on the occasion of the New Friends' tenth season—should accept all the pretensions and claims and, among other things, write that "many artists—including the now famous Budapest Quartet—were introduced to this country by the New Friends"—when in fact the Budapest Quartet had become famous here a few years before the New Friends started. But it is amazing to have Virgil Thomson, on the same occasion, write: "One cannot deny that the aims . . . are excellent and that the New Friends have pursued them assiduously," and then criticize only their concentration on Central European music—the fact that only in their ninth season had they given half the program-time to French music, and that in the tenth they were retreating to Bach, Schubert, and Brahms again.

Thomson's criticism was justified; but I should have expected him to point out that even when the New Friends had presented French music they had not done so in accordance with two of their important aims—which are to give "complete cycles of composers' works" and "as complete a representation of the literature of individual composers as feasible." I should have expected him to point out that instead of a complete representation of an individual composer like Debussy or Fauré they had offered "a comprehensive survey of the

chamber and vocal works of the great French composers, from Rameau to Ravel," to "make evident their musical diversity and cultural unity"—which was as though they had dealt with Central European composers by offering in one season a smattering of a work or two by Bach, Händel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, and Brahms as "a comprehensive survey . . . to demonstrate their musical diversity and cultural unity" (it has just occurred to me that in all these years the New Friends have not given the songs of Hugo Wolf). Thomson also might have criticized the New Friends' poor judgment in the selection of works for their French survey, pointing out that to choose the Piano Quartet Opus 45 as the single work to represent Fauré's instrumental chamber music was like choosing one of the Opus 59's as the single work to represent Beethoven's quartets, and that instead of still another performance of the frequently played Quartet of Debussy it would have been better to give the rarely heard "Proses lyriques" and "Chansons de Bilitis" or some of the sets of piano pieces.

Now although Thomson didn't make these criticisms I did make them; but there is this curious fact about the New Friends: one can point out, as I have done, how they have not lived up to one of their high-sounding pretensions, and they will again make the same pretension and again not live up to it; one can do that year after year, as I have done, and achieve the same result each time. And so my demonstration of the discrepancy between proclaimed aims and actual performance in the case of French music did not keep the New Friends from repeating, the next year, the claim of "complete representation of the literature of individual composers" and then presenting, during the past season, "the chamber music of the Slavonic masters" in the form of a work or two, often poorly chosen, by Borodin, Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, Glazunov (imagine performing Glazunov's Quartet Opus 1), Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Shostakovich, Smetana, and Janacek, in addition to a large number by Dvorak. With these there were presented all six quartets of Bartok, all six violin-and-clavier sonatas of Bach, the instrumental chamber music of Schumann, some of his songs, and a couple of his piano works; and the scrambling of all these elements produced some of the ghastliest programs the New Friends have ever contrived.

Thomson also criticized the New

Friends for using so many Central European performing artists, even for the French works; but I should have expected him to point out the discrepancy between the New Friends' claims and their practice here too. Their formulated aim is "to build the programs first and choose the artists on the basis of the programs"—in other words, to engage artists only for their fitness for what they are to play or sing; and they have claimed, in publicity material, to offer the public music, not performers: in one interview a number of years ago there was the pretension, among others, that anyone calling up their office to ask who was playing next Sunday was told that Beethoven was being played. Actually, right at the start, the New Friends offered their first series to the public not with an announcement that Beethoven and Brahms would be played, but with the announcement that these composers would be played by the many performers whom they named—including big-name performers with powerful box-office appeal; and they have done the same thing ever since. It is true that some of these big-name artists—Schnabel, Szigeti, Lehmann, Elisabeth Schumann, the Budapest Quartet—have been suited to the music they were engaged for; but others have been as unsuited as some of the less celebrated—and on occasion insufficiently competent—performers whom the New Friends have indiscriminately and ruthlessly scrambled together with the music.

I should have expected Thomson to point out that the New Friends had Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, a few years ago, played not by Landowska but by Serkin, who had given no reason previously for expecting anything better than the shockingly uncomprehending performance he gave. And in the past season, too, when they had Schumann's piano works played by Arrau or his "Dichterliebe" sung by Singher, it was not because of any fitness that either had demonstrated in previous performances of such music.

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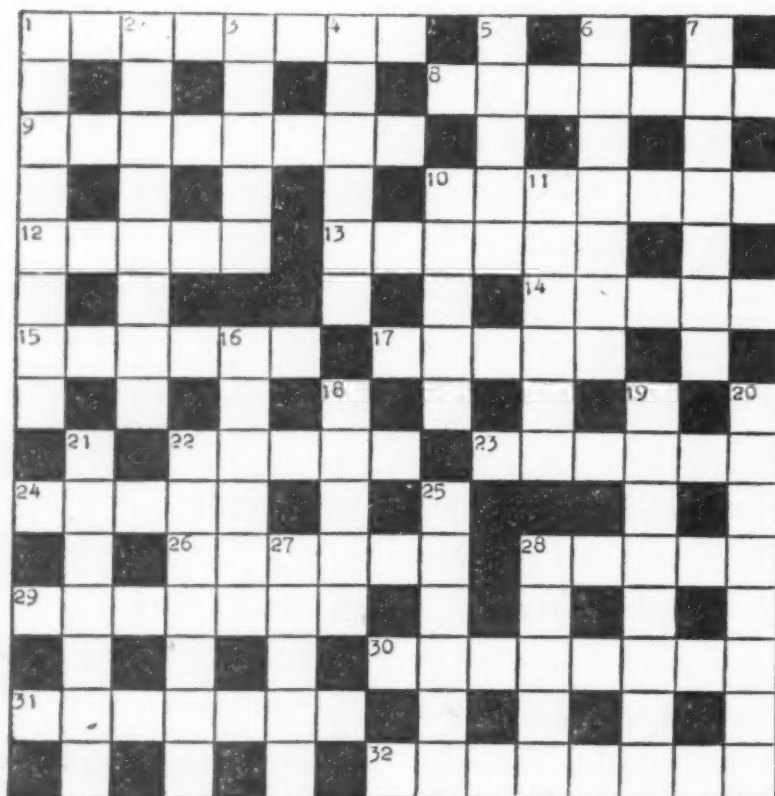
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## Crossword Puzzle No. 215

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

- 1 Look, a ham! Where?  
 8 A tank, but if a ship, not a tanker  
 9 Uprightness should distinguish people of this  
 10 Children are the ----- that hold a mother to life, said Sophocles  
 12 "What! -----, and so bold, O earth?" (Shelley, on learning of the death of Napoleon)  
 13 Get together  
 14 Not Robin Hood, except to Marian's family  
 15 Not a Simple Simon—the villain!  
 17 They produce boxes  
 22 A seer, but not exactly of the crystal  
 23 "Is there a parson much bemused in beer, A maudlin poetess, a rhyming peer, A clerk foredoomed his father's soul to cross, Who pens a ----- when he should engross?"  
 24 Junior, but may be for the senior service  
 26 Reclined at ease  
 28 Moral  
 29 Fled back surrounded by bees in India  
 30 He is keen on scent  
 31 "All hands on deck, your feet as well," the Captain loudly roared; "Go, climb the ----- quick, and throw the maindeck overboard!"  
 32 The continent "down under"

## DOWN

- 1 This race is not always to the swift  
 2 They go to the dogs

- 3 Podge's senior partner  
 4 Channel in Manchester  
 5 Make of torch, perhaps  
 6 English author, wrote *The Garden of Allah*, etc.  
 7 One does not turn a deaf ear to this, though perhaps one should  
 10 As much as you please (2 & 3)  
 11 The lawyer's customer  
 16 A person of note, on occasion  
 18 Worn by our ancestors in the jungle, and by ourselves in polite society  
 19 Where wrestlers really get down to it (2, 3, 3)  
 20 A patron of letters  
 21 Ale seems to go to the head of this French girl  
 22 French medley  
 25 Settle satisfactorily  
 27 Inclines  
 28 Additional

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 214

ACROSS:—1 SADDLER; 5 RED HAIR; 9 TRACE; 10 CLASSROOM; 11 REOPENING; 12 IBSEN; 13 EFFECTS; 15 RELEASE; 17 BAY-TREE; 19 WORSTED; 21 LATIN; 23 HORSESHOE; 25 EVENTUATE; 26 BLOKE; 27 EARLDOM; 28 SAWYERS.

DOWN:—1 SET FREE; 2 DRAGONFLY; 3 LIEGE; 4 ROCKIES; 5 REALGAR; 6 DISTILLER; 7 ATOMS; 8 ROMANCE; 14 CORONETED; 16 AITCHBONE; 17 BELIEVE; 18 EPHRAIM; 19 WORKERS; 20 DEEPENS; 22 THEIR; 24 ELBOW.

## Letters to the Editors

## Common Sense for Greece

Dear Sirs: The natural leaders of our people are divided and appear to be in a frenzy of fear and disillusionment because of the inexplicable course of Russia and the Communists. Many liberals are taking a course which can lead only to a new version of the anti-Comintern pact. The implications of their position grow ominous. They are now allied with those who are demanding that Wallace be prosecuted for stating views which reflect those of two-thirds of the American people—as shown by the latest Gallup polls.

The time calls for a simple, clear program which decent, peace-loving Americans can accept. It also calls for a program which President Truman and his advisers can push. If Franklin D. Roosevelt were alive, he would probably announce some such program as the following:

First, the United States cannot undertake to establish democracy in a nation where a king rules surrounded by monarchists and plutocrats. Help must be conditioned on withdrawal or collapse of these forces.

Second, order and peace must be restored within Greece. As matters now stand, our army officers will do nothing except arm the monarchists and assorted reactionaries. This will inevitably enrage and frustrate the Greek people, who have been revolting for twenty years against these forces, despite hunger, privation, and war. We must arm only Greek republicans and democrats. This requires that Americans or U. N. representatives know something about political philosophy.

Third, we must rebuild the Greek economy. We must do this in a way which the American people will understand, and which is within the framework of our own system. We must not make a lot of Greek plutocrats into despotic millionaires in the process.

Franklin D. Roosevelt would rebuild the Greek economy in the same way he rebuilt our own: (a) Provide for electric power, which is basic, by a Greek TVA owned by the Greek people. (b) Reestablish transportation by first paying off any private individual who claims ownership of the dilapidated Greek railways. Rebuild these railways in the name of the Greek people, to be owned as our own post-office system is owned. (c) Establish a Greek National

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Bank similar to our own Federal Reserve System or the present Bank of England. (d) Provide for rehabilitation of private productive enterprises through an RFC. Provide for the farm economy through a Farm Credit Administration based on cooperative loan associations, together with a Farm Security Administration.

This program would make sense to the American people. It would make sense and give tremendous encouragement to democrats everywhere. It would win the support of all middle-of-the-road nations, such as Britain, the dominions, the Scandinavians, France, Central and South America.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Montgomery, Ala., May 17

## Spanish Intellectuals Appeal

*Dear Sirs:* The Union of Spanish Intellectuals was founded shortly after the liberation of Paris. Its members include writers, scientists, technicians, professors, and artists, all Spanish refugees who have been in France since 1939. Its aim is to acquaint the public with Spanish culture. As one of our projects we are publishing a monthly bulletin containing original works by members of the association on literary, artistic, and scientific subjects.

However, despite our own enthusiasm and the interest of intellectual circles in France and other countries of Europe, the minimum base necessary to make possible this work is lacking and has forced us to publish only intermittently.

We hope that in view of our difficulties your readers may be able to do something to help us financially so that we may continue our work. Our address is 36 Rue d'Assas, Paris 6.

JOSÉ QUIROGA PLA,  
President

Paris, May 25

## In the Ring, but Angry

*Dear Sirs:* On April 8 I announced through the *Tax Journal* my candidacy for Vice-President on either ticket. On April 10 I wired Gael Sullivan, challenging him, or his designee, to a series of debates similar to, or rather reminiscent of, the Lincoln-Douglas debates. On April 12 I telegraphed Senator Pepper, issuing a like challenge. . . . I have received no response to date, which I consider peculiar, to say the least. . . .

DON B. HATUAKER

Jacksonville, Fla., May 17

## Digging Out the Truth

*Dear Sirs:* No great Victorian novelist has suffered more than George Eliot from the good intentions of biographers. Her husband, J. W. Cross, admits in his Preface to "George Eliot's Life as Related in her Letters and Journals" (1885) that "no single letter is printed entire from the beginning to the end. . . . Each letter has been pruned of everything that seemed to me irrelevant to my purpose—of everything that I thought my wife would have wished to be omitted." . . . His misguided piety has done more than anything to create a false image of George Eliot as melancholy, heavy-handed, humorless.

Fortunately, the manuscripts of her letters survive to provide a truer portrait. About 1,000 of them are in the Library of Yale University, where they are being prepared for publication by Dr. Gordon S. Haight.

In the case of so prolific a letter writer an edition can only approach completeness if the owners of small collections or of single letters are willing to have them included in the Yale Edition, where their cooperation will be duly acknowledged. The most trifling autograph sometimes supplies just the link needed to connect a whole series of letters of great importance to biographers. All correspondence should be addressed to Professor Gordon S. Haight, 464 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
New Haven, May 20

## Correction

Through a printer's error the salary of the top executive of the private power companies' association was given as \$650,000 in A. G. Mezerik's article last week. It should have been \$65,000.

### Next Week in *The Nation's* SUMMER BOOK ISSUE

Willa Cather  
by Morton Dauwen Zabel  
AAA—Second Round  
by Anthony Bower

Poems  
by W. H. Auden and Randall Jarrell  
Reviews by R. P. Blackmur, Theodore Spencer, Diana Trilling, Andres Iduarte, Robert Bendiner, William Empson, and others.  
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## MISCELLANEOUS

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